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ABSTRACT

Drawing on survey data from 83 New York school districts and case studies of 6 districts, the project reported here explores several aspects of schools and districts as organizations. The conceptual framework guiding the study emphasizes that educational organizations are not governed either by their structure or by the reactions of individuals, but are political organizations in which participants pursue interests reflecting their legitimate roles. Eight papers and an appendix comprise this final report. The first paper elucidates the theoretical and methodological approach taken, and the second proposes a political analysis of schools as organizations as a practical theory. The third paper is a study of political factors predicting turnover of school board members. The fourth analyzes earlier management ideologies and endorses a multidimensional conception of quality of work life programs. The fifth and sixth papers report, respectively, a study of job-related predictors of teacher stress and a survey of the attitudes of teachers, principals, superintendents, and school boards toward teachers' unions. The seventh paper reports an exploratory study of the impact of interpersonal and intergroup characteristics on the teacher's decision to rely on collective action. The eighth paper presents a study of the impact of various organizational factors on teacher militancy. Finally, the appendices contain survey instruments and information on research design and data collection for this research project. (MJL)

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FINAL REPORT

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Consensus and Power in School Organizations

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NOTES ON A POLITICAL THEORY OF EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

by

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There was a shift in methodological and theoretical approaches to the study of organizations in the mid to late sixties. Methodologically, the emergence of multivariate analysis and statistical packages allowed social scientists to deal with larger bodies of data, and for the most part the previously predominant case study approach was left behind. Theoretically, the concern shifted away from an examination of the dynamics of organizations, i.e., strategy and change, toward a relatively static analysis of the structure of organizations. Thus in the 1960's and 1970's, the sociological study of organizations was dominated by the comparative structural perspective (Blau and Schoenherr, 1971; Hage and Aiken, 1967; Pugh et. al., 1963, 1968, etc.). The comparative-structural perspective emerged as a response to the earlier detailed case study approaches exemplified by Selznick (1949) and Gouldner (1954). While the case studies were concerned with how the behavior of organizations and their members idiosyncratically varied from a common theoretical reference point, i.e., Weber's model of bureaucracy, the comparative structuralists were primarily concerned with discovering common patterns across organizations.

An argument can be made that in its basic concern with the collection of large quantifiable data-banks, the comparative-structuralist reduced theory to the position of a legitimizer of methods rather than holding that methods are a tool of theory. The selective use of works of Max Weber exemplifies this phenomenon. Weber's ideal construct of bureaucracy emerged as a series of testable propositions while it was clearly never meant to do so (Hall and Tittle, 1966; Hall, 1963). Furthermore, Weber himself was cast as an aggregate structuralist who viewed organizations as based on the functional interdependence between various structures, e.g., size and differentiation (Blau and Schoenherr, 1971). The dynamic aspects of the Weberian perspective, viewing structure as contingent on historical and cultural setting and as determined by the conscious action of particular interest groups, was for the most part ignored by the comparative structuralists. Contemporary theoretical perspectives (March and Simon, 1958; Cyert and March, 1963; Thompson, 1967) were also selectively used by the comparative structuralists. The references made to these theoretical works ignored, for the most part, the dynamic aspects of the perspectives. For example, not until recently has the theme of coalitions and coalition behavior been viewed as integral to the empirical research while it is obviously of import to the theoretical volumes (Cyert and March, 1963; Thompson, 1967).

The rise of the comparative structuralist perspective may be due in part to its affinity with one of the primary tendencies of organizational behavior: the development of general, overarching theories with applicability to all organizations. The statistical analysis employed by the comparative structuralists are well suited to the development of general theory. Even the earlier case study tradition tended to lose sight of the specifics of the empirical referents on which they were based, with emergent theoretical generalizations coming to the forefront. The comparative structuralists offered a more explicit and direct route to the same end, while sacrificing a significant degree of realism and practicality in the process.

Although not as extreme, this interplay between theory and methods is also apparent in educational administration. Through most of its history, educational administration has placed a heavy emphasis on practice. As a result, those in educational administration have tended to rely on detailed empirical descriptions of educational systems rather than the development of broad theories of organizations. There has been a heavy use of case studies or other intensive research techniques which tend to reveal the more idiosyncratic and dynamic aspects of school systems. One consequence of this has been the consistent lament among those in educational administration concerning the lack of theory (e.g., Cunningham, Hack and Nystrand, 1977; Immegart and Boyd, 1979; Boyan, 1981). There has been a call for the use of more refined methodological and statistical approaches to aid in the development of a more specific and quantified theory of educational administration.

The uncritical adoption of such an approach would have the same costs for the study educational administration that the rise of the comparative structuralist perspective did for the study of organizations. The work of Bidwell and Kasarda (1975) most closely approximates the structural model and provides a good example of these costs. Like many other structuralists, Bidwell and Kasarda view schools and school districts* in terms of the economic context and morphological structure of these organizations. For example, organizational attributes are measured in terms of such dimensions as pupil/teacher ratio, administrative intensity, ratio of professional support staff to classroom teachers, and staff qualifications. Their analysis essentially consists of examining how these four "organizational attributes" moderate the impact of environmental conditions such as school district size, fiscal resources, percent of disadvantaged families, district population educational levels, and percent non-white in district on measures of student achievement. Like most organizational theorists they view organizations as an input/output system. However, like most aggregate structuralists, (e.g., Blau and Schoenherr, 1970), they leave the process by which actors translate the impact of the environment unspecified. The environment's impact on structure is never viewed as mediated by the cognitions and calculative behavior of organizational actors. Environment is somehow transformed into structure, yet the process of transformation remains unspecified. Conscious actors, stratetic decision-making, and open conflict are never considered. The discovery of static patterns occurs at the expense of the dynamics of practical reality. While this approach may produce a theory of educational administration, there is a distinct possibility that such a theory would be too far removed from the practice of educational administration to be of much use.

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* While Bidwell and Kasarda use school districts as the unit of analysis, the implication of their perspective holds for schools and school districts.

Obviously there is a need in both organizational behavior and educational administration for the generation of practical theory (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981a). The development of practical theory requires that attention be paid to the common patterns that exist across organizations and the idiosyncratic realities of specific organizations. In recent years the structural perspective has come under attack from a variety of theoretical perspectives, (Karpick, 1972a, Georgiou, 1973; Goldman and Van Houten, 1977; McNeil, 1978; Salaman, 1978; Bacharach and Lawler, 1980; Crozier and Friedberg, 1981; Weick, 1976). Curiously, there appears to be little interest in defending this approach to the study of organizations, with the consequence that there has been considerable experimentation with alternative perspectives such as the negotiated order perspective (Strauss, 1978); the Marxian perspective (Benson, 1977; Braverman, 1971; Heydebrand, 1977; Goldman and Van Houten, 1977); the ethnomethodological perspective (Manning, 1977); a renewed interest in the social action perspectives (Rose, 1974; Goldthorpe, 1968; Silverman, 1970; Touraine, 1971) and the political perspective (Pettigrew, 1973; Bacharach and Lawler, 1980;

Pfeffer, 1980; Weiss, 1981).

Among the more potent critiques of the comparative structuralist perspective is March and Simon's (1958) notion of the loose coupling of organizations, recently elaborated by Weick (1976). What makes this perspective of particular interest is the fact that it represents an attempt by an organizational theorist to deal with the particular properties of educational organizations. In essence, the notion of loosely coupled systems characterizes organizations in a manner directly opposite that of comparative structuralist theory. Thus the objective focus on structure is replaced by a concern with the subjective aspects of cognition. As a consequence, the assumption of organizations as holistic or homogeneous gives way to a view of organizations as heterogeneous. Harmony is usurped by chaos. However, it is precisely at this point that the weaknesses of the loosely coupled metaphor becomes most apparent. Possible sources of order are left vague and unspecified. While Weick (1976) lists some possible mechanisms through which coupling may occur (e.g., authority, technology), it is not apparent at what point coupling occurs. Further, it is not apparent whether coupling occurs between individuals, groups, or organizations. Indeed, one of the primary problems with the loosely coupled systems approach is the fact that it is based on an individual phenomenological analysis, yet it is applied haphazardly to organizations as a unit.

Implicit in one or more of the aforementioned perspectives are a number of critiques of the comparative-structural approach to the study of organizations:

a. Comparative structuralists have reified organizations

b. Comparative structuralists have anthropomorphized organizations

c. Comparative structuralists have objectified organizations

d. Comparative structuralists have viewed individual organizational members as passive

e. Comparative structuralists have viewed organizational structures as constraining behavior rather than as emergent from behavior

f. Comparative structuralists have assumed the existence of an aggregate organizational reality

g. Comparative structuralists have ignored divergence in subgroup and individual cognitions and interests

h. Comparative structuralists have failed to explain the dynamics of change and conflict in organizations.

What most of the critiques of the comparative structuralists have in common is a primary concern with the analysis of organizational dynamics and organizational change. They view organizations as systems of actions. Not coincidently, their development has been accompanied by a renewed interest in the use of "qualitative" methods (ASQ, 1981).

The problem with the various critiques offered of the comparative structuralists is that no one perspective has addressed all the points of criticism, nor have they shown an appreciation for the positive aspects of the structural approach. To that end, we have yet to see a theoretical perspective which deals with what must be viewed as the three critical issues of organizational theory:

a. How do organizational structures and processes emerge from the behavior and cognitions of individual actors?

b. How do organizational structures and processes stabilize without inhibiting the behaviors and cognitions of individual actors?

c. How do organizations change without being reduced to chaos? Specifically, how do organizations change while still maintaining their organizational identity?

To a large degree what Weick (1976) and others have failed to emphasize is that beyond the facade of loose coupling, there may exist the day-to-day calculative workings of a political reality. That is, at times one has the sense that the proponents of the loosely coupled are trapped by their own metaphor, failing to realize that what appears as loose coupling may indeed be the informal but highly predictable politics of organizational life. Indeed, the modes of coupling may be based on calculative decisions constrained by the structure and environmental content of organizations. While the structuralists fail to consider the internal dynamics of organizations, the adherents of the loosely coupled systems approach fail to consider the structural constraints that impinge on the individual actor's cognitions and actions.

It is my premise that a middle ground between the comparative structuralist and the loosely coupled systems approaches may be found in the political analysis of organizations. Unlike the political perspective offered by Marxists, I believe it is critical to emphasize not simply macro institutional analysis, but the analysis of micro politics (Pfeffer, 1979; Bacharach and Lawler, 1980). To the degree that a political analysis examines the cognitions and actions of actors within the context of specific organizational structure and environment, it may be seen as incorporating the strengths of both the structuralist and loosely coupled system approaches while not succumbing to the weaknesses of these approaches. That is, a political perspective incorporates structure, cognition, and action and as such, takes into account the structural constraints of an approach like Bidwell and Kasarda and the voluntarism implicit in a perspective such as Weick's.

The image of school organizations as political entities is not new. Indeed, an argument can be made that in the educational administration literature this has been a prevailing perspective (Charters, 1952; Eliot, 1959; Corwin, 1965; Ziegler and Jennings, 1974; Wirt and Kirst, 1972; Thompson, 1976). This perception of an existing political orientation stems, to a significant degree, from the use of detailed case studies and other intensive, descriptive methods in educational administration noted earlier. Most of these theorists, while offering an insight into the political analysis of organizations, fail to develop the conceptions of schools as complex political organizations. That is, for the most part, they concentrated on selective relationships such as the relationship between the superintendent and the school board (e.g., Ziegler and Jennings), or they concentrated on specific political roles such as the role of superintendent, (Iannacconi and Lutz, 1970). Perhaps the most thoroughly developed analysis of schools as complex political organizations is that offered by Corwin. By identifying key actors and their interactions, in developing a differentiated view of the organizational environment, and by emphasizing the notion of bargaining and adaptive strategies, Corwin has taken an important preliminary step towards developing a political model of the school system and its environment that is more comprehensive in its scope than most earlier efforts.

Considering that the works of Corwin, Charters, Eliot, etc. preceded theorists such as Bidwell and Kasarda, Weick, and Meyer and Rowan (1977), it is astonishing that the political perspective offered by students of educational systems has not been thoroughly incorporated in the analysis of educational organizations. In a sense, it is ironic that I propose a political approach to the study of educational institutions as a middle ground between structuralist and loosely coupled systems approaches.

A detailed analysis of schools and school districts suggests a political image of organizations accounting for the following:

a. Educational organizations are best conceived as political systems, both internally and in their external relationships. In educational organizations, at all levels, constant tactical power struggles occur in an effort to obtain control over real or symbolic resources. Whether this struggles occurs between the superintendent and the school board, between the school board and the state, or between principals and teachers is not the important consideration. It is essential to accept the dynamics of power struggles over resources as integral to any organizational analysis.

b. In educational organizations, participants can be conceived of as political actors with their own needs, objectives, and strategies to achieve those objectives. While there may be some apparent consensus regarding the normative goals of educational organizations, e.g., education, the weight given to different subgoals and the strategies used to pursue them will differ depending upon which actors are questioned. For example, a decision to cut an administrator of an affirmative action program may be viewed by the community as a serious threat to minority protections calling for public protest at school board meetings or letters to the editor of the local paper. The same issue may be coded as a budgetary necessity by the school board. Similarly, in discussions of class size, one finds administrators mentioning financial and child population statistics while teachers speak of pedagogical technique. Thus each group may argue not only the "rightness" of its specific position, but will also define the issue in terms of its own function.

c. The decision-making process is the primary arena of political conflict. Each subgroup can be expected to approach a decision with the objective of maximizing its specific interests or goals rather than the maximization of some general organizational objective. For example, in a choice between purchasing new school buses and multiplying the trips of current buses by staggering students arrival and leaving times, citizens may be concerned with such things as the general traffic patterns in the community, costs, and students being out of school until mid-morning and arriving home after dark. For its part, the school board may be strongly committed to a staggered schedule because it believes that the costs of increased driver time and mechanical depreciation is significantly less expensive than would be the purchase of new buses and the subsequent need to hire more drivers. School administrators may be concerned with questions of congestion around the buildings and the disruption of classes as students arrive and depart. Teachers, as a group, may be entirely disinterested and attempt not to participate. Unless some aspect of the question involves their self-interest (e.g., a significant increase in the transportation budget will decrease the monies available for salaries), teachers, or any other group, may decide not to become involved in a specific decision. For those who perceive an issue as related to their self-interest, however, the decision-making process becomes the arena in which to attempt to insure that the decision outcome reflects their self-interests.

d. Each subgroup will also have a different view of who has the formal power (authority), who has the informal power (influence), or who should have the power to make organizational decisions. A group's efforts to have their point of view relfected in the decision outcome centers in large part around questions of authority and influence. In order to have one's viewpoint represented requires that others agree that your view should be considered, i.e., that you should have influence over the decision. The level of agreement or congruence between parties over who has or should have authority and influence over various decisions is constrained by the structure of educational organizations, their work processes, and the different goals of groups. In regards to congruence, four types of conditions can be considered (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980):

1. Congruence (Legitimate Authority)

    a) Centralized: superiors and subordinates concur that the right to make a final decision belongs to only the superior.

    b) Decentralized: superiors and subordinates concur that subordinates have the right to make final decisions.

2. Incongruence

    a) Shirking: superiors maintain that subordinates have the right to make final decisions but subordinates refuse to do so.

    b) Usurpation: superiors maintain that subordinates do not have the right to make final decisions, but subordinates maintain that they do have the right to make final decisions.

e. Given the importance of the decision-making process and groups' efforts to have their views reflected in decision outcomes, the nature of congruence with regard to where power lies in the decision-making process is consequential for the level of conflict and ultimately for educational quality. Obviously, the two congruent conditions will produce the least conflict and will enable decision-making to proceed as necessary. In contrast, the two incongruent conditions both pose a major threat to the integrity of the decision-making process. In one (shirking), efforts will be made to pass responsibility for the decision on to others. The passing of a sensitive issue such as school closings back and forth between the administration and the school board would be an illustration of this. In the other incongruent condition (usurpation), a groups efforts to obtain authority or influence over a decision which others feel they are not entitled to may also stall the decision process. For example, if teachers, administration, the school board, and various community groups all attempted to become involved in a particular decision the likelihood of conflict is high and the chances for a speedy decision low Disruption of the decision process, particularly when important educational issues are involved, will have a direct affect on the school district's program.

f. The ability of a single individual or group to have its interests represented in the decision-making process is often limited. As a consequence, in educational organizations coalitions of actors emerge, identify collective objectives, and devise strategies to achieve those objectives. For example, the power of individual teachers or groups of teachers is limited, but the power of a coalition of teachers, i.e., the union, is often substantial. Should the teachers' union elicit the support of the PTA an even more influential coalition could result. The formation of coalitions is constrained by organizational structures, ideologies, and environment. For example, the type of coalitions that emerge and the strategies which they follow will depend greatly on whether we are dealing with a large, highly bureaucratic school district or a small, non-bureaucratic school district; whether the community is liberal or conservative; or whether the district population is well educated or poorly educated. In other words, the coalitions which emerge, the collective objectives which they identify, and the strategies which they use to achieve these objectives will be determined to a large degree by the various combinations of structures, ideologies, and environment.

g. In any school district, there are likely to be a number of different coalitions either in existence or capable of being formed. The dominant coalition is that coalition of actors which controls the authority structure and resources of the organization at a given point in time; their actions and orientations can be described in terms of their logiques d'action (perspective from the point of view of the observer that gives their actions meaning and coherence). For example, in one school district we observed (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b), the superintendent and a majority faction of the school board constituted the dominant coalition in the district. Although challenged by other groups such as the teachers and the minority faction of the school board, there was no single group or coalition of groups with sufficient influence to replace the dominant coalition in the district. This coalition had enough power through the superintendent's control over his administration and the majority factions control over school board votes to insure the district was run as they saw fit. Further, the strategies and tactics employed (such as the superintendent's control over information and the majority factions ties to the community elite) were consistent with their perception of their roles and responsibilities as school district officials in a particular school district. In a similar manner, those who challenged the dominant coalition also followed a consistent set of rules or expectations. As a consequence, there was an underlying logic to what often appeared to be a chaotic and conflictual state of affairs. The same reasoning can be applied to all school districts.

h. Although a dominant coalition may remain in place for an extended period of time either through astute political manuvering or the relative quiescence of the district, no coalition is sacrosanct. A dialectical relationship exists between the organizational structures, ideologies, and environment and the emergence and aspirations of coalitions. Coalitions emerge in reaction to structures, ideologies, and environment and in turn reformulate and institutionalize structures, work processes, and ideologies which engender over time, a reaction from emergent coalitions. The rotation of coalitions on school boards illustrates this process. In one district we observed

(Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b), a taxpayer's group concerned over rising school costs was able to mobilize sufficient community support to gain a majority of seats on the school board. This coalition was able to oust the superintendent from office, alter the content and definition of other administrative roles, and to undertake a review of the district curriculum with an eye toward adapting a more fundamental or back-to-basics approach to education. Shocked by some of these actions, a rival coalition consisting of teachers, parent groups, and members of the community elite was formed and after intensive compaigning, was able to replace the taxpayer's group as the majority faction the school board. This new coalition then proceeded to implement a series of its own changes in school district policy. The point is that educational organizations must be seen as political entities that shape and are shaped by their environmental and organizational context.

i. The dialectic presented above as a critical component of a political analysis of schools occurs over time and within a specific context. This means that educational organizations are best understood in terms of a historical perspective and in terms of the specificity and structure of the institutional system of which they are a part.

At least two methodological issues emerge from this elaboration of the major points involved in an analysis of educational organizations as political entities. The first issue deals with the unit of analysis. A political analysis, due to its concentration on coalitions as the basis of action and change, envisions groups as the primary focus of a study of educational organizations. This perspective affords an empirical middle ground between a concentration on aggregate and individual data by examining collectivities of individuals within an organization. To date, the potential of the group model has not been fully realized. The group has been seen as a relatively formal entity whose activities within the organization are passive and of little interest to the researcher. What attention has been paid to the group focuses on group autonomy, that is, with the group itself rather than the group's relationship with other work groups in the organization. Realization of the full potential of the group perspective requires that the dynamics of the group interrelationships become a focal point of future research. For example, properly conceptualized, a group model is well suited to an examination of the administrative, educational, and political imperatives that confront school administrators as they are expressed in various group interactions. We believe that the proper application of the group model can be achieved if it is embedded in a theoretical approach that considers the organization as a political system.

The second methodological issue has to deal with the use of case studies versus large quantitative comparative studies with which we began our discussion. There, we argued that the choice of method has in many cases dictated the theoretical content of the research undertaken. One of the advantages of the political approach being advocated here is its ability to constructively utilize both methods, drawing upon their strengths without succumbing to their limitations. To elaborate, the major strengths of a large scale comparative survey approach is the ability to generalize that it affords. It enables one to pinpoint the key variables and variable relationships which constrain the political process across school districts. Its primary weakness is its inability to provide a sense of process and the specific information necessary for an in-depth analysis. In contrast, the strengths of a case study approach lie in its ability to explore how political processes unfold over time in a specific setting. It's primary weakness is its failure to provide a sufficient base for generalizing to other organizations. Together, the two methods complement one another and provide the basis for a thorough understanding of school districts as political systems, allowing one to determine which aspects of school districts are qualitatively unique, and which aspects are quantitatively recurrent.

Obviously, the key step here involves the creative design of research which can effectively utilize both approaches. For example, in our own research, we began a series of case studies to familiarize ourselves with how the issues we were concerned with were handled in school districts. The information collected from these case sites was then used to help in designing a survey for distribution to a larger sample of schools of which the case study sites were a part. Having collected data using both approaches, it is now possible to use the results of the case studies to suggest potential analyses of the survey data, or to use the results of a survey analysis to characterize a case study site and examine how a given profile of variable values is translated into action in an actual school district (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b). Other ways of interfacing the two types of data are also possible. The point is that drawing on the strengths of each approach insures that the results will both be abstract enough to allow for significant theoretical contributions, yet concrete enough to generate practical policy recommendations.

In closing, as I noted elsewhere, the interplay between theory, methods, and practice may arise in any area, and the difference in emphasis which characterizes organizational theory and educational administration as areas of activity has direct consequences for the establishment of a dialogue between these two fields (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981a). The purpose of such an interaction is to insure that the theory that is generated is relevant and useful both to those in educational administration and in organizational behavior. For educational administration, this suggests a critical assessment of the concepts being proposed by organizational behaviorists; for organizational behaviorists, this prompts a step down from the heights of general theory and a focus on the specific properties of schools as well as a concern with how broader theoretical concepts unfold in educational settings. For both, the dialogue should be an exercise in the creation of practical theory. One example of the potential fruitfulness of this kind of a dialogue is in the political analysis of schools as organizations elaborated here (e.g., Bacharach and Mitchell, 1982). Recent theoretical developments in organizational behavior, when combined with the rich body of descriptive empirical literature in the areas of school politics and school organizations, results in a perspective which presents a realistic image of schools as organizations with direct implications for the development and refinement of theory, research, and practice.

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THE GENERATION OF PRACTICAL THEORY:
SCHOOLS AS POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

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Much of the work in organizational behavior is based on the unstated assumption that there are basic, typological forms which are common to all organizations. This is most apparent in the field of comparative organizational analysis where, despite repeated calls to attend to the unique characteristics of specific organizational forms (e.g., Clegg and Dunkerly, 1980; Pinder and Moore, 1979), the principles of relationships between sets of structures and component processes are often haphazardly generalized from one type of organization to another. Inevitably, the specifics of the empirical referents are lost and the emergent theoretical generalizations come to the forefront, thus preventing the development of precise variables and situations which are relevant in a given type of organization. This lack of specificity regarding the unique empirical reality of particular types of organizations has resulted in a set of theories which at best are difficult to apply to the practical concerns of organizational design, development, and management.

In this paper, we will focus on one of the more dramatic illustrations of this tendency, namely the study of school districts as organizations. In the first section, we will review the basic elements of a comparative structural analysis and demonstrate how these elements both inform and limit the study of school districts as organizations. Alternative approaches to the study of schools as organizations will be noted, and a political organizational framework for the study of schools will be proposed. In the second section, the requirements of a political analysis of schools as organizations will be discussed. Attention will be paid to identifying the key actors in schools, specifying the linkages between these actors, and delineating the types of strategies and tactics used in schools to create and maintain consensus. In the final section, the implications of a political perspective for educational practitioners, particularly those involved in organizational design, will be discussed.

I. The Limits of Generalization.

Organizational theory as an arena for scholarly activity has had a tendency to develop general, overarching theories with an assumed applicability for all organizations. There is usually little effort directed toward examining or specifying how these overarching theories will empirically unfold in daily organizational life. The purpose of this section is to illustrate how this tendency toward theoretical generalization can prevent a thorough understanding of schools as organizations.

A. Structuralist Analysis.

The limits of generalization are most apparent if we consider the type of analysis undertaken by the comparative structuralists (e.g., Blau and Schoenner, 1971; Hage and Aiken, 1970; Pugh, et. al., 1968). While this research perspective dominated the late 60s and 70s, today it remains the context within which most comparative research is conducted. In essence, this approach has accepted a causal model of organizational life which is composed of four crude composite elements: 1) external constraints; 2) structure; 3) process; and 4) output. External constraints have been primarily cast as the environment and the technological factors that affect the internal structures and processes of the organization. The internal structures have often been discussed in terms of the morphology of the organization, e.g., size, differentiation, span of control, role specialization, etc. (Hall, 1981; Aldrich, 1979; Bacharach, 1978). Structures, in this context, are viewed as independent of the action which they may encompass. That is, structures are objectified, reified aggregate characteristics of organizations. Processes are the actual tasks carried out by actors in pursuit of their work activity. To that end, processes involve the behavior of specific actors or groups of actors in pursuit of functional goals. Therefore, unlike structures, organizational processes are more difficult to reify; tend to envelop a more cognitive component; are therefore more subjective; and should not be studied on an aggregate level. Output is seen as an indicator of organizational performance or achievement.

A basic linkage between the external constraints and the internal structures and processes would suggest that under particular environmental and/or technological conditions, specific structural configurations and patterns of processes will emerge (Perrow, 1967; Aldrich, 1979; McKelvey, 1983). For example, it is maintained that under positive economic conditions, organizations can afford to expand, and therefore will emerge as larger and more differentiated. Likewise, it is suggested that specific types of technologies can lead to different levels of differentiation and role specialization, the basic axiom being that routine technologies will be associated with a high degree of differentiation and role specialization, while non-routine technologies will be associated with low levels of differentiation and role specialization. Parallel assumptions govern the relationships between external constraints and the internal processes of organizational life. For example, under conditions of a turbulent environment work processes may involve a higher level of role ambiguity and role conflict, while under conditions of a stable environment, work processes may involve a low level of role ambiguity and role conflict. Likewise, when the constraining technology is non-routine, we would expect a high level of role ambiguity and role conflict, while routine technologies will be associated with low levels of role ambiguity and role conflict. The final set of variables, i.e., output, are viewed as contingent upon the interactions among the three previous sets of variables. An effective organization is one in which there is an appropriate match among structures, processes, and external constraints.

This general orientation to organizational analysis may be broadly described as contingency analysis. That is, output is contingent on the main effects and interactive effects of different sets of variables. Seven sets of effects may be listed: 1) output is contingent upon the main effect of external constraints; 2) output is contingent upon the main effect of process variables; 3) output is contingent upon the main effect of structural variables; 4) output is contingent upon the interaction of external constraints and processes; 5) output is contingent upon the interaction of external constraints and structures; 6) output is contingent upon the interaction effect of structures and processes, and 7) output is contingent upon the three-way interaction effect of external constraints, structure, and process.

Researchers of the last fifteen years have placed differential emphasis on each one of these relationships. Regardless of which relationship they choose to emphasize, however, researchers utilizing the structualist perspective employ the organization as their unit of analysis. Those who adopt such an orientation may be accused of reifying and anthropomorphizing organizations (Bacharach, 1978). In the former instance, they treat organizations as organic entities that are part of the natural world and subject to their own principles of operation (Wolin, 1969); in the latter instance, they fall into the trap of dealing with organizations as actors, as evidenced by the use of such terms as organizational control, organizational power, and organizational communication (Weick, 1969). An analysis of the organization as a whole assumes that it is a rational system of interdependent units functionally held together by a common goal. Empirically, the appearance of a harmonious whole is enhanced through the use of aggregate data as the basis of analysis. Such a perspective assumes a uniform effect of structure and process across the organization, combining scores to create one measure of each variable for the total organization.

While such an approach may aid in the pursuit of the generic typological forms which are common to all organizations, for practitioners and those who view organizations as organic entities composed of everything from affect to politics, such a perspective is extremely limited. Indeed, those who live in organizations, more so than those who study organizations, are constantly aware of the idiosyncracies inherent in organizational life. It is these idiosyncracies that the structuralist perspective has sacrificed in pursuit of the generic typological forms which are common to all organizations.

The idiosyncratic component of organizational life may be defined as the non-patterned behavior of groups and actors within organizations. For the most part, organizational behavior as a discipline has ignored those types of behaviors. That is, in our pursuit of the common patterns which we somehow believe make for good science, we have ignored cognition, volition, and self interest. The clearest example of this may be seen in terms of organizational behavior's inability to incorporate strategic decision making into the contingent model. Simply put, for the environment to have an impact on specific structures and internal processes, key actors in the organization must cognitively interpret the environment, voluntarily choose among strategic alternatives, and, based on their notion of what's either in their best interest or the organization's best interest, implement changes. Organizations do not adapt; individuals adjust. The common patterns that we speak of when we talk of external constraints, structures, and processes limit alternatives and/or enhance uncertainty, but they tell us little or nothing about the deductive logic which enters into the decision implementation process. To a large degree, the analysis of organizations has become free of strategic actors. We cast organizations not as emergent phenomena dependent on the conscious calculations of actors but rather as sui generis entities governed by abstract self-fulfilling macro principles. Recent work concerning the ecology of organizations and organizational demography is only the latest manifestation of this tendency (Hannan and Freeman, 1977; McKelvey, 1983; Aldrich, 1980). While there is great merit in the scientific and aesthetic appeal of such a nomethetic approach, for the practitioner who is concerned with the redesign of an organization, this tendency to ignore the strategic actor results in a gap between theory and practice.

B. The Structural Analysis of Schools.

In this context, let us specifically examine what the principles of a structural analysis have to say to the practitioner in the field of education. Educational organizations may serve as clear examples of the limitation of the applicability of organizational theory to the specific concerns of organizational practitioners.

We have already seen that the structuralist analysis adopts a causal model of organizational life which places primary emphasis on the determinants of organizational output. For educational practitioners, the most obvious output relates to the educational attainment of the students. In primary and secondary education this has included a concern with such items as minimizing drop-out rates, increasing the percentage of students who continue their education beyond high school, and obtaining high achievement scores, particularly in reading and math. Adopting a structural perspective, one would want to select a specific set of outputs and then examine the affect of environment, structure, and process on these outputs.

Bidwell and Kasarda (1975) exemplify this approach and a brief consideration of their work will highlight some of the limitations of a structuralist analysis of schools and organizations. Examining their research, we discover that the primary operationalization of effectiveness in terms of scholastic achievement is the reading and mathematical ability of the student. While such items have the distinct advantage of being susceptible to relatively objective measures, they tend to be embedded in a narrow conceptualization of school districts. Specifically, we cannot equate the goals of elementary schools with the goals of high schools. While it may be true that Bidwell and Kasarda's operationalization of achievement, sixth grade reading and math achievement test scores, are appropriate measures of effectiveness for elementary schools, it can be argued that reading and math scores for its students may be viewed as an independent variable when examining secondary school effectiveness. To examine reading and math scores is to miss the primary mission of the secondary schools, i.e., to socialize students toward maximization of career plans. Instead, these scores remain an examination of the success or failure of the primary education in the district rather than the secondary education in the district. Point in fact: the old truism maintained by high school teachers, that once students have begun their secondary education it is too late to teach them to read and cipher, appears to hold true. Students with reading problems and "math anxiety" in high school are reduced to remedial education and in their instance, the primary focus of success in the high school is preventing them from dropping out.

Two points are worth noting. First, even where there may be agreement as to one of the organization's primary goals, this does not mean that measures of this goal will be easy to identify. Output and its measures are problematic. Second, even if possible measures of goal achievement can be found, one cannot assume that they are applicable to the entire organization. Treating the organization as a whole conceals important differences within the system. Further, while we are using output as an example, the same argument applies to structure and process. Thus, while it is possible to construct aggregate measures of structure and process for the entire district, these measures would conceal the very substantial differences which exist between structure and process on the secondary versus the elementary level (e.g., Bacharach, 1983).

The failure to take account of the variations in structure, process, and output which exist across schools within a district severely limits the practical application of the results produced by a structural analysis of schools. Critics of this perspective have also noted the tendency to overlook the internal dynamics of schools and the various tensions which exist within the organization (e.g., Silverman, 1971). This tendency also detracts from the practical utility of the structural approach. This becomes apparent if we consider one of the primary sources contributing to the internal dynamics and tensions present in school districts, namely the need for educational administrators to satisfy goals related to administrative efficiency, as well as those goals related to educational attainment.

Among the dimensions that may be considered under administrative efficiency are the ability to: decrease employee turnover; initiate innovation; minimize costs per output; tap state and federal funds, etc. On the surface, these seem like goals that everyone would see as valid. But suppose that reading scores in a school or district had decreased dramatically over a two or three year period. Given the fundamental importance of educational attainment as a goal, the obvious reaction to this decline would be to look for a possible remedy which would help raise reading scores. Drawing from some of the results of a structural analysis (e.g., Bidwell and Kasarda, 1975), one might propose hiring more teachers or better qualified teachers. Both of these solutions, however, would raise the costs to the district and therefore conflict with the goals of administrative efficiency. Admittedly, this is an oversimplified example. It does point to the possible conflicts which may confront educational practitioners as they try to balance their roles as educators with their roles as administrators. If an analysis of schools as organizations is to be of any value to practitioners, it must be able to take account of these conflicts. To do so requires that the researcher be able to focus on the use that is made of output data (or other information) in order to reveal the internal dynamics present in the system (Sproull and Zubrow, 1981).

Conflicts between educational goals and administrative goals surface as the district translates its official public goal of providing education into specific operative goals. Operative goals are expressed in such decisions as to emphasize math and reading as opposed to arts and athletics or hiring additional teachers to improve reading scores. "Where operative goals provide the specific content of official goals they reflect choices among competing values" (Perrow, 1974, 216). Thus, according to Perrow, operative goals are open to conflicting interests. This highlights yet another role that must be played by the educational administrator - that of politician. For better or worse, school districts are composed of at least four identifiable spheres of interest - the community, the school board, the administration, and the teachers (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981). Each of the groups may bring a different set of values to bear on a given issue, with the consequence that determining an operative goal requires creating and maintaining consensus among these groups. How consensus is achieved thus becomes of critical importance to the analysis of schools as organizations (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b). Unfortunately, in examining the goals of education organizations, many researchers (e.g., Bidwell and Kasarda, 1975) treat them as if they are reified and have achieved a level of objective consensuality. This engineering approach to effectiveness is, as Hannon and Freeman (1977) point out, common to much of the organizational literature. To the degree that the school effectiveness literature examines the acceptable levels of educational goals, e.g., math and reading scores, such assumptions of consensuality may be appropriate. However, insofar as these measures of effectiveness are moderated by such things as administrative goals, the diversity of the district, and the activity of the teachers' union, the assumption of consensuality becomes precarious.

To summarize, school districts as organizations have at least three characteristics that are not adequately handled by researchers who adopt a structuralist approach. First, although there is general agreement that schools exist to provide education, measures of goal achievement are more difficult to specify. In particular, a structuralist analysis fails to account for the distinct differences in output, structure, and process that exist between secondary and elementary schools. Second, a structuralist analysis cannot reveal the internal dynamics which exist in school systems as they try to achieve two often conflicting goals: one for educational attainment, the other for administrative efficiency. Third, efforts to resolve these conflicting goals are exacerbated by the presence of multiple interest groups, each of whom may bring a different set of values to bear on any issue. A structuralist analysis cannot capture the essence of the political process which lies behind the creation and maintenance of consensus in schools. Due to these limitations, the results of a structuralist analysis of schools are of dubious value to the educational practitioner.

C. Alternative Perspectives.

Although our presentation to this point has attempted to demonstrate the limitations of a structural analysis of schools as organizations, it should be made clear that insofar as other approaches employed in developing organizational theory share the same unstated assumptions, then they will exhibit the same limitations when applied to the study of schools. In particular, the assumption that organizations are harmonious, unified entities seriously limits the applicability of organizational theory to schools as organizations. Yet this assumption pervades the majority of organizational literature. Despite discussions of differentiation, the fact is that most of organizational theory assumes consensus and takes conflict or chaos as something that must be explained. This is probably one reason why educational practitioners lament the inapplicability of theory to their practical concerns (Cunningham, Hack and Nystrand, 1977;

Immegart and Boyd, 1979; Boyan, 1981).

There are those in organizational theory who recognize the limitations of such assumptions and have tried to develop alternative perspectives to the study of organizations. Given our discussion of the properties of schools as organizations which make such assumptions problematic, it is not surprising that one of the leading alternatives was developed by focusing on schools. We are referring to the loosely coupled systems approach elaborated by Weick (1976). In contrast to the structuralists who take the organization as the unit of analysis, the proponents of the loosely coupled system, drawing from phenomenology, go to the opposite extreme and adopt the individual as the unit of analysis. The concern with coupling arises from a need to explain how individuals come to be organized. Although this argument would, on the surface, appear to be similar to our concern with the creation and maintenance of consensus, in fact research into the loosely coupled has focused on showing that differences exist rather than that similarities are problematic (e.g., Davis, et. al., 1976). Thus, despite their theoretical differences, the proponents of loosely coupled systems seem to be heavily influenced by the same assumptions of unity that limit the structuralists. Yet "where the structuralists err in failing to consider the internal dynamics of organizations, the adherents of the loosely coupled systems approach fail to consider the structural constraints that impinge on the individual's cognitions and actions" (Bacharach, 1981: 21-22). Further, the notion of a loosely coupled system is often taken as a metaphor and applied to organizations as a whole, with a failure to show how the individual properties on which the theory is founded can be validly applied to the organization. Finally, while the notion of a loosely coupled system was elaborated by focusing on schools, the specifics of this empirical referent have been largely forgotten as the emergent theoretical generalizations come to the forefront. The end result is the creation of an approach or perspective that is as limited as that which it was developed to critique.

If using the organization as the unit of analysis prevents one from recognizing the internal dynamics of organizations, and using the individual as the unit of analysis prevents one from recognizing the forces of cohesion, then the question arises as to what is the most appropriate unit of analysis for studying schools as organizations? We believe that a perspective which uses the group as the unit of analysis is most appropriate. From such a perspective, objective structures are considered as constraints on individual group action within an organization. By focusing on the group as the primary unit of analysis, however, we are sensitized to the differences in cognition and action that occur across groups within an organization, something not possible within the strict confines of a structuralist approach. This approach recognizes individuals but considers their membership in groups as the critical point for explaining their behavior in the organization.

In this context educational organizations emerge as political systems composed of interest groups and coalitions perpetually engaged in bargaining. Educational organizations must, therefore, be viewed as systematic political entities. The systemic component emerges from the rational interdependence dictated by the structure of the organization. The political component emerges from the differential interests and goals of various groups. Finally, the cognitive element which is part and parcel of the loosely-coupled system perspective is also incorporated here in the tactical action of the parties.

Although the idea of considering schools as political organizations may be new to organizational theorists, the basic elements of a political perspective have been part of research in educational administration for some time. In fact, despite efforts to depoliticize the administration of schools, perspectives having political overtones began to arise in the 1930s when researchers started to examine the function and composition of school boards (Counts, 1937). School boards remained the primary focus of a political perspective, with other roles being occasionally brought in as they related to the school board (for example, the superintendent in Gross, et. al., 1958). While the 1960s did not mark the beginning of interest group politics in public education, it did signal its proliferation. Nearly all those concerned with public schools realized they had become embattled political entities, attempting to mediate the conflicting demands of such local and external political groups and institutions as parents, teachers, minorities, teachers' unions, state departments of edsucation, state legislatures, faculties of state teachers' colleges, state and federal courts, and the federal educational bureaucracy. It had become obvious that schools had to contend with competing imperatives - one of governance in community settings, one of administration, and one of educational attainment.

Despite the apparent consensus regarding the advisability of adopting a political perspective, educational researchers differ in the specific models they employ and the school district personnel they chose to study. As a consequence, there are bits and pieces of a political study of schools, but no unified approach. A brief review of a few of these studies will help to illustrate this point, while suggesting ways to overcome the weakness of past research.

Zeigler and Jennings (1974) contributed to the political perspective by attempting to determine whether the principle of representative democracy guided the governing process of local school districts. In comparison with earlier research that focused on the composition of school boards, this research focused on the interactions between the school board, the superintendent, and the public. Moreover, by adopting representative democracy as a standard of comparison, they assess not only who governs the school district but how it is governed. The main drawback to their study is that it equates board, superintendent, and community relationships with the entire governing process. Moreover, they relied upon interviews as the sources of data, thus presenting perceptions of political participation, board responsiveness, and sources of consensus and conflict. Investigating the perceptions of consensus and conflict provides few insights into how consensus is maintained and how conflicts are resolved.

In supporting their use of a political perspective regarding school districts, Wirt and Kirst (1975) noted that:

> Educational administration is 'political' in two senses....First, educational administration is the object of activity from political influences outside the school walls. These external forces may be community groups, state and federal governments, or private forces, such as professionals or foundations. Second, educational administration is the subject of political activity, that is, its practitioners can - by their mobilization of resources, skill of leadership, and knowledge of the social territory - shape policy and behaviors within the school system.

Having recognized the interacting, interdependent elements of the school district, Wirt and Kirst proposed adopting a systems framework as their model. On the surface, a systems model would appear to provide several advantages for the study of school districts as political organizations.

First, such a framework presents a clear delineation of how schools respond to the demands in their environment. Second, the dynamic emphasis affords the researcher the opportunity to examine the structural and process components of the relationship between the school district and its environment. Third, it presents the school district as a dynamic political entity constantly interacting with various other entities. This notion of interdependence is particularly important for viewing the school district as a governmental unit embedded in a larger system of government. A final advantage of a systems framework is that its scope is sufficiently broad to avoid the narrow scope of previous models that concentrated solely on formal structure, role delineation, or community impact. While Wirt and Kirst adopted a systems framework, they failed to integrate their dynamic model with a dynamic connective concept. They identify key participants in governance and administration, but fail to provide clues as to how their activities confer authority or influence on them, or how these activities affect what actually gets done in school districts.

More recently, Smith and his associates (1981) have introduced the concept of the longitudinal nested system. This concept emphasizes the interactions of a number of discernable systems with their environment. Because they were concerned with following a trail of results through time and space, however, Smith and his associates failed to distinguish the processes by which causes in one system became results in another.

Perhaps the most thoroughly developed analysis of schools as complex political organizations is that offered by Corwin (1965). By identifying key actors and their interactions, in developing a differentiated view of the organizational environment, and by emphasizing the notion of bargaining and adaptive strategies, Corwin has taken an important preliminary step toward developing a political model of the school system and its environment that is more comprehensive in its scope than most earlier efforts.

It is important to recognize the limitations of the work done by educational researchers. Although they have utilized elements of a political perspective, few, if any, have attempted a full analysis of schools as political organizations (Bacharach, 1981). Research has tended to focus on specific roles or linkages between roles, in many instances artifically separating internal organizational elements from external environmental concerns. Through most of its history, educational administration has placed a heavy emphasis on practice. As a result, those in educational administration have tended to rely on detailed empirical descriptions of educational systems rather than the development of broad theories of organizations. There has been a heavy use of case studies or other intensive research techniques which tend to reveal the more idiosyncratic and dynamic aspects of school systems with little effort to undertake comparative analyses. It is this tendency which leads to the adoption of elements of a political perspective. It is also this tendency which leads to a failure to develop general theories of educational administration. This failure is exacerbated by the division of educational researchers into a number of sub-fields, i.e., a fact which makes it increasingly difficult to speak of a field of educational administration.

In summary, whereas the tendency of organizational theorists to develop general theories limits their applicability to the study of schools as organizations, the tendency of educational researchers to focus on idiosyncratic aspects of schools and their subsequent failure to develop any general theory is equally debilitating to the generation of knowledge that will be useful to both scholars and practitioners. What is needed is a middle ground which recognizes the unique properties of schools as organizations and proceeds to develop general theories based on these properties. Only then will it be possible to put forth a perspective which presents a realistic image of schools as organizations with direct implications for the development and refinement of theory, research, and practice. It is our contention that a fully developed political perspective offers the best foundation for the creation of such practical theory (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981a).

II. Schools as Political Organizations.

Having put forth the proposition that the analysis of schools as political organizations can serve as a solid foundation for the development of practical theory, we must now proceed to elaborate on what we mean by a political perspective and how it applies to schools. We will attempt to accomplish both of these objectives in this section of the paper.

A. The Elements of a Political Perspective.

Adopting a political perspective of schools as complex organizations requires that we account for the following:

1. Educational organizations are best conceived of as political systems, both internally and in their external relationships. In educational organizations, at all levels, constant tactical power struggles occur in an effort to obtain control over real or symbolic resources. Whether these struggles occur between the superintendent and the school board, between the school board and the state, or between principals and teachers is not the important consideration. It is essential to accept the dynamics of power struggles over resources as

integral to any organizational analysis.

2. In educational organizations, participants can be conceived of as political actors with their own needs, objectives, and strategies to achieve those objectives. While there may be some apparent consensus regarding the normative goals of educational organizations, e.g., education, the weight given to different subgoals and the strategies used to pursue them will differ depending upon which actors are questioned.

3. The decision-making process is the primary arena of political conflict. Each subgroup can be expected to approach a decision with the objective of maximizing its specific interests or goals rather than the maximization of some general organizational objective. Unless some aspect of the question involves their self-interest, any group may decide not to become involved in a specific decision. For those who perceive an issue as related to their self-interest, however, the decision-making process becomes the arena in which to attempt to ensure that the decision outcome reflects their self-interests.

4. Each subgroup will also have a different view of who has the formal power (authority), who has the informal power (influence), or who should have the power to make organizational decisions. A group's efforts to have their point of view reflected in the decision outcome centers in large part around questions of authority and influence. In order to have one's viewpoint represented requires that others agree that your view should be considered, i.e., that you should have influence over the decision. The level of agreement or congruence between parties over who has or should have authority and influence over various decisions is constrained by the structure of educational organizations, their work processes, and the different goals of groups.

5. Given the importance of the decision-making process and groups' efforts to have their views reflected in decision outcomes, the nature of congruence with regard to where power lies in the decision-making process is consequential for the level of conflict and ultimately for educational quality.

6. The ability of a single individual or group to have its interests represented in the decision-making process is often limited. As a consequence, in educational organizations coalitions of actors emerge, identify collective objectives, and devise strategies to achieve those objectives. For example, the power of individual teachers or groups of teachers is limited, but the power of a coalition of teachers, i.e., the union, is often substantial. Should the teachers' union elicit the support of the PTA, an even more influential coalition could result. The formation of coalitions is constrained by organizational structures, ideologies, and environment. For example, the type of coalitions that emerge and the strategies which they follow will depend greatly on whether we are dealing with a large, highly bureaucratic school district or a small, non-bureaucratic school district; whether the community is liberal or conservative; or whether the district population is well educated or poorly educated. In other words, the coalitions which emerge, the collective objectives which they identify, and the strategies which they use to achieve these objectives will be determined to a large degree by the various combinations of structures, ideologies, and environment.

7. In any school district, there are likely to be a number of different coalitions either in existence or capable of being formed. The dominant coalition is that coalition of actors which controls the authority structure and resources of the organization at a given point in time; their actions and orientations can be described in terms of

their logiques d'action (perspective from the point of view of the observer that gives their actions meaning and coherence).

8. Although a dominant coalition may remain in place for an extended period of time either through astute political maneuvering or the relative quiescence of the district, no coalition is sacrosanct. A dialectical relationship exists between the organizational structures, ideologies, and environment and the emergence and aspirations of coalitions. Coalitions emerge in reaction to structures, ideologies, and environment and in turn reformulate and institutionalize structures, work processes, and ideologies which engender over time, a reaction from emergent coalitions. The rotation of coalitions on school boards illustrates this process. The point is that educational organizations must be seen as political entities that shape and are shaped by their environmental and organizational context.

9. The dialectic presented above as a critical component of a political analysis of schools occurs over time and within a specific context. This means that educational organizations are best understood in terms of a historical perspective and in terms of the specificity and structure of the institutional system of which they are a part (Bacharach, 1982).

B. Three Fundamental Questions.

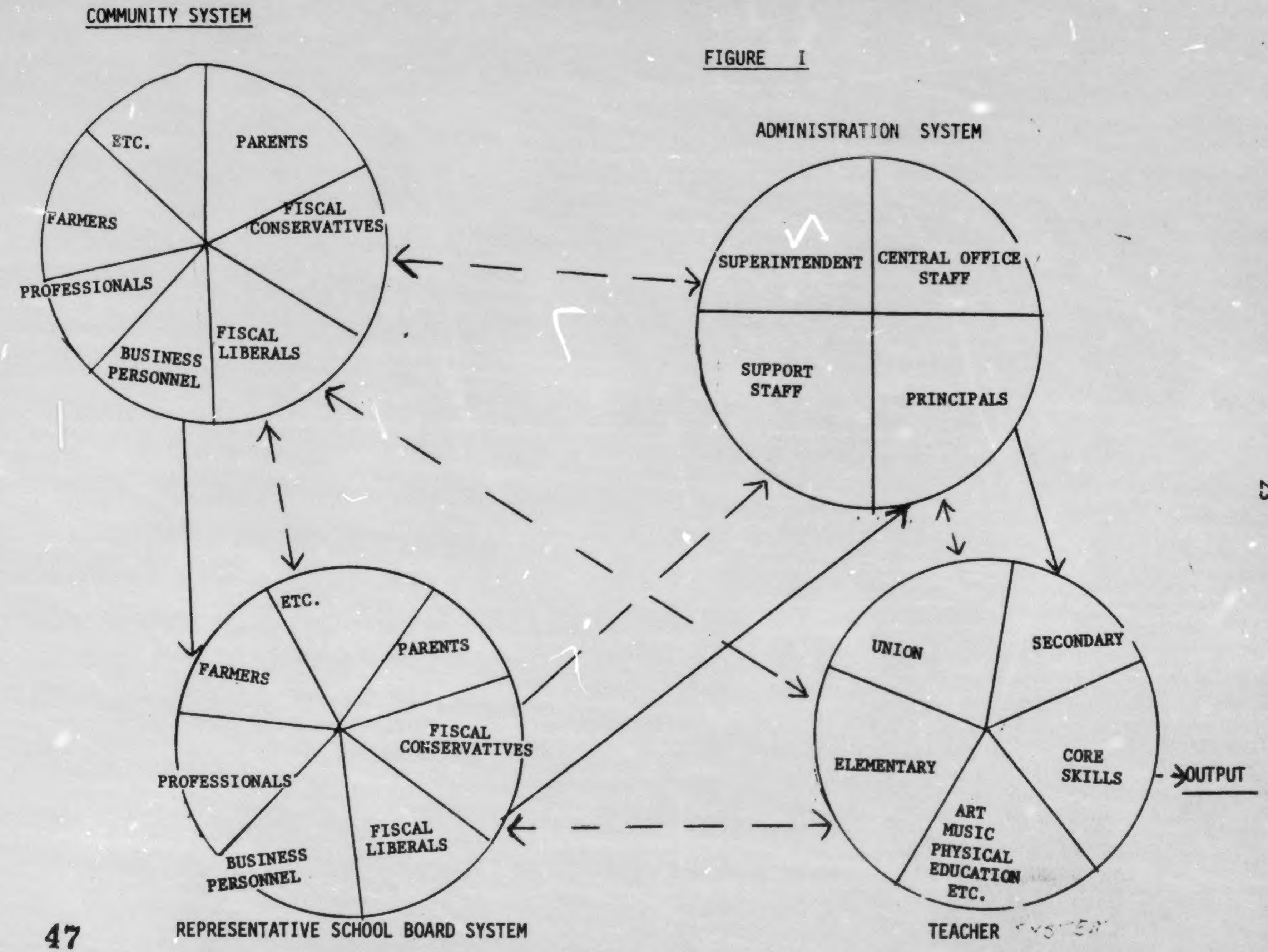
Taking account of the elements of a political perspective presented above essentially involves a recognition that schools as organizations are arenas whose output is greatly modified by the interests and cognitive orientations of the component interest groups. If we are to understand the operation of educational organizations as political entities, it is necessary to answer three fundamental questions. These are: 1) who or what are the component interest groups in the school system?; 2) what are the primary linkages between these interest groups?; and 3) what is the basic "logic of action" embedded in each interest group? We will consider each of these questions in turn.

1. Component Interest Groups: Schools as Multi-systems.

As already noted in connection with the work of Smith and others (e.g., Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b), a school district is a multi-system; it is a system of systems. "Each of these parts is a miniature social system in itself" (Smith, 1981). Figure 1 provides examples of these systems, and the potential sub-groups in the individual systems. While the examples within the circles do not exhaust the possibilities of the significant participant groups, they provide a sense of the coalitions and interest groups which may participate or attempt to participate in a decision.

Two significant points should be made here. First, each of the systems is identifiable by function, and is relatively autonomous. Each has rights and responsibilities, methods of decision-making, and constraints upon its actions. In short, each is an identifiable functional entity. The community of citizens oversees a public institution; the school board makes policy in accordance with the demands of the citizens; the administration manages in accordance with the policies; and the teachers perform the hands-on operations in accordance with management's decisions. Obviously, such identifications are extremely indefinite because it is difficult to find the boundaries, and because the linkages are so complex that a change in one segment requires adjustments with others (Oettinger and Marks, 1974). Indefinite though the identifications of the systems may be, they do indicate each system's legitimation for participation in decision-making. It is worth noting that each system participates on the basis of what is ordinarily a legal definition of

FIGURE I


COMMUNITY SYSTEM
ETC.
PARENTS
FARMERS
FISCAL CONSERVATIVES
PROFESSIONALS
BUSINESS PERSONNEL
FISCAL LIBERALS
ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM
SUPERINTENDENT
CENTRAL OFFICE STAFF
SUPPORT STAFF
PRINCIPALS
ETC.
FARMERS
PARENTS
FISCAL CONSERVATIVES
PROFESSIONALS
BUSINESS PERSONNEL
FISCAL LIBERALS
REPRESENTATIVE SCHOOL BOARD SYSTEM
UNION
SECONDARY
ELEMENTARY
CORE SKILLS
ART MUSIC PHYSICAL EDUCATION ETC.
OUTPUT
TEACHER SYSTEM

its function. Moreover, in times of conflict, each group may argue not only the "rightness" of its specific position, but will more importantly define the issue in terms of its own identifiable function. Thus, a decision to cut an administrator of an affirmative action program may be viewed by the community as a serious threat to minority protections and coded as a budgetary necessity by the school board. In discussions of class size, one finds administrators mentioning finance and child population statistics while teachers speak of pedigogical technique.

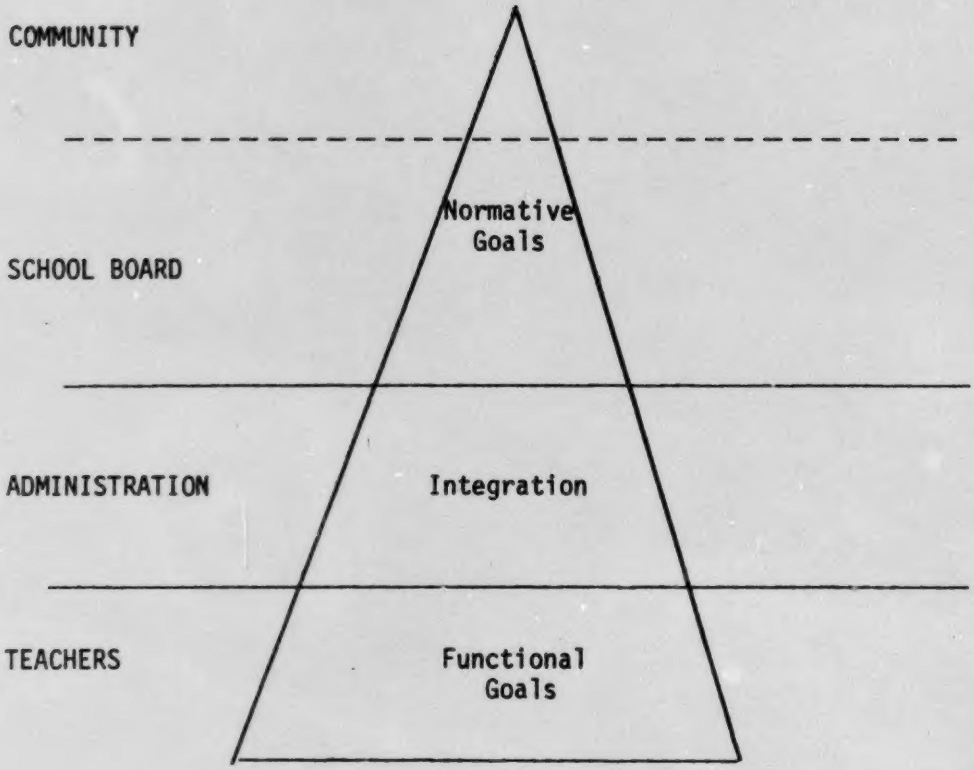
A second point that proceeds from the autonomous identities of the participant systems concerns the decision to participate. All four of the identifiable groups may not choose to participate in every decision. For example, in a choice between purchasing new school buses and multiplying the trips of current buses by staggering students' arrival and leaving times, citizens may be concerned with such things as the general traffic patterns in the community, cost, students' being out of school until mid-morning, and students' arriving home after dark. In addition to reflecting the concerns of the community, the school board may be very strongly committed to the staggered schedule, having already determined that the staggered schedule with its costs of increased driver time and mechanical depreciation is significantly less expensive than would be the purchase of new buses with its costs of increased driver positions and new equipment. School administrators may be concerned with questions of congestion around the buildings and the disruption of classes as students arrive and depart. Teachers, as a group, may be entirely disinterested and not attempt to participate. As a result of decisions to participate or not to participate, only a specific set of actors is liable to be involved in any specific issue. Identifying those actors is an exercise in delineating the operative network in the district (Bacharach, Lawler, and Mitchell, 1983).

2. Primary Linkages Between Groups: Authority and Influence.

Authority refers to the final decision-making power that resides in various positions in the organization. In school districts, teachers have the authority to assign learning activities to children; principals have the authority to assign children to classes; superintendents have the authority to assign teachers to schools; school boards have the authority to select superintendents; and the community has the authority to elect school board members. In short, each position in a district is vested with authority over specific issues by virtue of its place in the organizational structure. In addition, as shown by the solid lines in Figure 1, the systems in the district are arranged hierarchically in terms of authority (Smith, 1981). This means that each system, by virtue of its authority, places constraints upon the authority of the lower systems. Thus, the authority structure represents a fundamental linkage between actors in the school system. It is within this structure that the goals of the school system are pursued.

Figure 2 is a graphic representation of the relationship between the four systems in a school district as they are generally assumed to operate. As reflected in the figure, it is assumed that the school board, as elected representatives of the community, perpetuates the normative framework underlying district policy. That is, it is the school board and its composite members who set the tone for the dominant educational ideology. Over the last ten years the shifts from progressive education to an emphasis on basic skills have been most dramatically reflected by the ideological composition of school boards. The politics of school

FIGURE 2: TYPE I - THE NORMATIVELY INTEGRATED SCHOOL DISTRICT


COMMUNITY
Normative Goals
SCHOOL BOARD
ADMINISTRATION
Integration
TEACHERS
Functional Goals

boards over the decade of the 70s took on such overarching normative and ideological labels as liberal, conservative, etc. Teachers, in that sense, were often caught in the ideological revolving door created by the changing normative framework of the school boards, for unlike the boards, teachers are primarily concerned with the basic tasks of education. The role of translating the normative expectations of school boards into executable tasks for teachers and lower echelon administrators falls generally to the superintendent and the principals. That is, it is their function to serve not simply as the supervisors for their subordinates, but also as the translators of ideology into specific policy. Such a situation is reflected in the Type I Normatively Integrated school district. Its assumptions are: a specified ideology on the part of the school board, the ability of the administrators to translate normative expectations into executable, functional goals, and a teaching corp whose own professional orientation is congruent with the normative goals of the board.

Three points need to be made regarding the notion of a normatively integrated school district. First is that the authority structure on which it rests requires that each actor recognize the legitimacy of the decision-making power of other actors. Authority can only be exercised if the individual, superiors, and subordinates all acknowledge the power of the individual to make the decision. The failure of consensus as to who has authority over an issue is one point of conflict within school districts. For example, as noted earlier, in discussions of class size, one finds administrators mentioning financial and child population statistics, while teachers speak of pedagogical technique. Each group may argue not only the "rightness" of its specific position, but will also define the issue in terms of its own function. The conflict here is not only about the number of children in a room, it is also a challenge of the authority of the superintendent to make that decision. Teachers challenge on the basis of their pedigogical expertise, and superintendents defend on the basis of their systemwide, financial responsibilities. Such challenges pose a direct threat to the apparent stability of a normatively integrated school district.

Challenges to authority are most likely to arise when there is a lack of consensus over goals. Where challenges to authority represent a lack of consensus regarding organizational form, lack of consensus over goals relates to organizational content (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980). As we will see, the two need not go together; therefore, the conceptual distinction is important to keep in mind. Disagreement over goals may occur at either the normative or the functional level. Disagreement at the normative level deals with the assumptions behind the basic direction of district policy, while disagreement at the functional level deals with how an agreed upon policy is to be implemented.

Lack of consensus over normative goals is much more disruptive to school district operations than disagreement over functional goals. It is not surprising, then, that districts tend to alter potentially normative disagreements into functional disagreements. One reason for this is the fact that challenges to authority occur within a very limited range. There are certain rights which are sacrosanct and which can be used to reinforce the normative framework. Thus, community members may agree that the school board has the authority to make policy, but turn the school board members out of office for taking a position contrary to community desires. The superintendent has the authority to administer the district, but will be fired if administrative decisions are not in keeping with policy goals. Teachers have authority to teach, but will be sanctioned if their methods are not in accordance with administrative procedures. The stability of the basic authority structure is used to present an image of consensus over normative goals. As Meyer and Rowan (1977) note, there is a logic of confidence operating which helps to avoid the disruption of normative disagreement. It is because of this that it is generally assumed that all districts are normatively integrated. Further, when challenges to normative integration do arise, they are couched within the framework of a normatively integrated school district.

We have argued that challenges to normative integration occur when an actor or group either questions someone's authority or disagrees with the district's normative or functional goals. Such challenges will usually focus on specific issues and represent an effort on the part of an actor to have his or her self-interest reflected in decisions regarding that issue. Given the relative resiliency of the authority structure, the question arises how these interests come to be expressed. The answer is through the exercise of influence.

Influence functions less formally than authority and is less obvious. The sources of influence reside in the individuals and in the groups individuals represent. A single citizen may exert little influence, but if speaking for the business community, that individual is in a strong position to influence a decision. All members of the school board are equal in authority, but the financial expert is more influential in financial decisions by virtue of the grasp of financial matters. An effort by the superintendent to control the agenda of a school board meeting and thus to control the flow of information is not an effort to coopt school board authority, but an effort to ensure that the administrative voice is the most influential. While the teacher system possesses less authority than the other systems and is at the lowest end of the hierarchy, teachers do have the capacity to influence decisions because they control the classroom technology, share the goals of other professional educators, and are represented by a formal group, i.e., the teachers' union. The point is that while the number of individuals who have authority over an issue is severely limited, the number who can influence is almost limitless. This is reflected in Figure 1, where the broken lines indicate the influence network; they show every system influencing and being influenced by every other system.

Identifying which lines of influence are actually present in a district, i.e., the district's influence network, is an important task for researchers utilizing a political perspective. Although the specific form of the influence network will vary from district to district, the general impact of the exercise of influence on the roles played by various actors is limited. At one extreme is the Type III normatively inverse district pictured in Figure 3-B. In such a district, it is the teachers' normative orientations that are most visible. In such a situation, the administrators become mediators rather than translators of school board policy. For the most part, it is only in times of crisis that school boards become concerned with functional issues and teachers with normative positions. Generally, most school districts occupy a middle ground between normative integration and normative inversion. This position, a Type II politically discrete district, is shown in Figure 3-A. In such districts, school boards have both a normative and a functional orientation. Likewise teachers have both normative and functional orientations. Administrators, therefore, are faced both with translating policy and mediating. Clearly the mix is neither proportionally even

FIGURE 3-A: TYPE II POLITICALLY DISCRETE SCHOOL DISTRICT

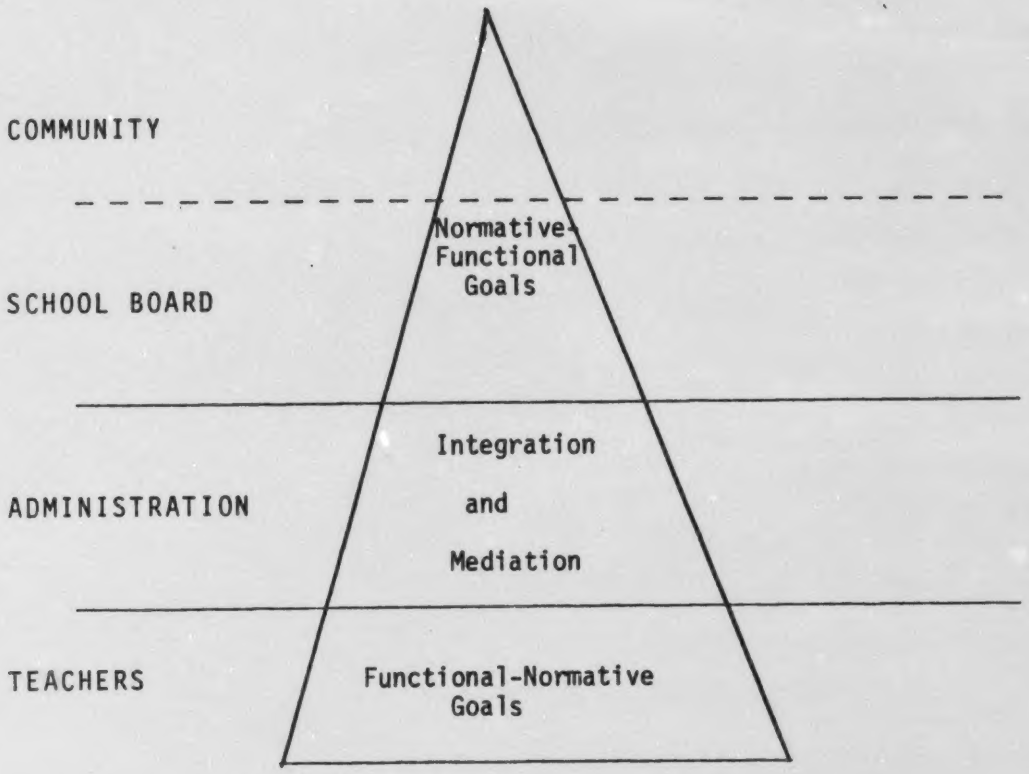
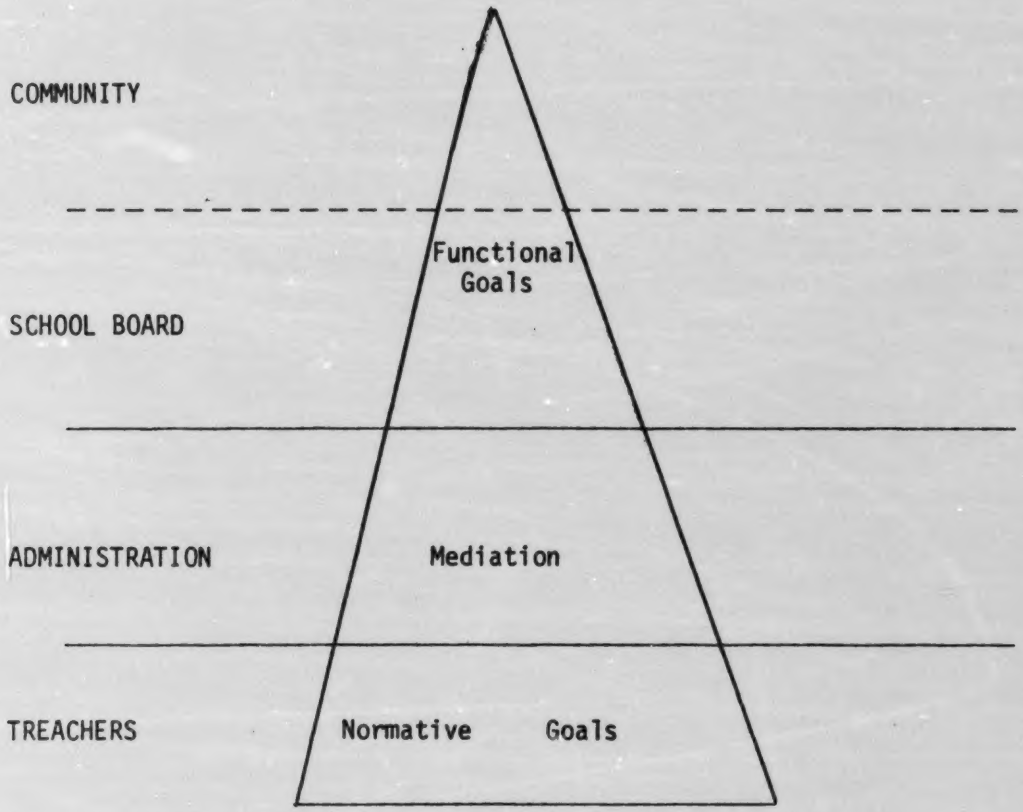

COMMUNITY
SCHOOL BOARD
Normative-Functional Goals
ADMINISTRATION
Integration and Mediation
TEACHERS
Functional-Normative Goals

FIGURE 3-B: TYPE III - NORMATIVELY INVERSE SCHOOL DISTRICT


COMMUNITY
Functional Goals
SCHOOL BOARD
ADMINISTRATION
Mediation
TREACHERS
Normative Goals

nor consistent over time. Thus the primary orientation of most school boards is normative, while their secondary orientation is functional; likewise, the daily demands of the job make the teachers' primary orientation functional, and their secondary orientation normative. Which functions are emphasized, and therefore what type the school district will approximate, will be a function of the issues which arise and the orientations the various actors take toward those issues.

3. "Logic of Action" Embedded in Each Interest Group: Strategies and Tactics.

Challenges to normative integration or the effort to exert influence within the normative framework revolve around specific issues. The issues may be imposed upon the district by its environment, as in the case of federally mandated programs or state budget rules, or they may arise from within the district itself as part of its routine operations. While it is important to recognize the sources which may generate issues, the source itself is not as crucial as the various actor's perceptions of the issue and their reaction to it. From a political perspective, it is the dynamics of the decision process surrounding specific issues that energize the system. Tracking actors' perceptions and reactions - their decisions to participate or not to participate, their efforts to have their interests reflected in the decision outcome - are at the core of a political analysis of schools as organizations.

A political analysis assumes, then, that individual actors will view each issue that arises in terms of their own self-interests. For example, in making up the school budget, principals of small schools in the outskirts of the district want their concerns to carry the same weight as those of principals from larger, more centrally located schools. Farmers who develop financial security in land and equipment may vie with teachers, administrators, and other community members about the importance of a pension plan. What then becomes important is how each actor attempts to ensure that his/her interests are represented. What are the strategies and tactics used by the actors in the district?

The selection of strategies and tactics by an actor depends upon the actor's perception of the district and the other actors positions in the district. The notion of a "logic of action" presumes that the strategies and tactics selected represent a rational outcome given the actors perception of the situation. It follows that strategies and tactics will be determined, in part, by the history and structure of the school district.

Two broad classes of strategies and tactics may be identified. The first involves the use by an individual actor of some expertise, authority, or work related behaviors. Generally these represent elements available to the individual by virtue of his/her position in the organization. For example, a member of the community may attempt to exert influence as a taxpayer or as a parent. Members of the community may threaten to mobilize, expressing public protest at school board meetings or in letters to the editor of the local paper. School board members may threaten to vote against an issue, or may use their position to obtain or disseminate information on a specific issue. Administrators rely on their expertise as a basis of influence, but are not adverse to skillful manipulation of information as a form of influence (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b). Teachers also rely on their expertise as a basis of influence, falling back to the threatened withdrawal of services (e.g., job action or strike) only under crisis conditions. The point is that in choosing strategies and tactics, the actor's initial search is most likely to focus on those which are immediately available, namely those which involve individual action. If an actor believes that individual action will be sufficient to influence the decision outcome, then the search for viable strategy and tactics need go no further.

For many actors, however, individual influence is extremely limited. In that case, the individual may broaden his/her search for viable strategies and tactics by considering the formation of a coalition with other actors and/or interest groups. By forming a coalition, the actor can then bring not only his/her own expertise and authority to bear, but the expertise and authority of the coalition partner as well. For example, by coalescing with either the community or the board, the teachers would bring both classroom expertise and either the threat of community mobilization or the use of the board's vote to bear on an issue, effectively blocking administrative action. Were this to occur for an extended period and involve issues related to normative goals, the district would approach our Type III characterization of normative inversion. As with individual strategies and tactics, actors rely on their expertise, authority, or work related behaviors to influence a decision. In a coalition, however, the range and scope of activities that can be brought to bear is much greater.

A variety of coalitions are possible in a district. In evaluating potential coalition partners, an actor usually looks for someone who is either neutral or undecided on an issue, or someone whose self-interest favors a similar decision outcome as that desired by the actor. If a potential partner is neutral or undecided, the actor may try to persuade them to the actor's position. Alternatively, the actor may try to establish a trade-off, possibly to assist the partner in the future for help in the present (Bacharach and Lawler, 1981). For example, teachers may try to persuade members of the PTA to support their position, while school board members may trade votes on issues. Where a coalition partner's self-interest lies in a similar decision outcome, an actor's efforts are likely to focus on clarifying that fact to the potential partner.

Although coalitions may form around specific issues, they do not always dissolve with the resolution of an issue. When a powerful coalition remains in place over time, it may effectively control school district policy. The district becomes what they say it is. For example, on one school district we observed (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b), the superintendent and a majority faction of the school board constituted the dominant coalition in the district. Although challenged by other groups such as the teachers and the minority faction of the school board, there was no single group or coalition of groups with sufficient influence to replace the dominant coalition in the district. This coalition had enough power through the superintendent's control over his administration and the majority faction's control over school board votes to insure the district was run as they saw fit. Further, the strategies and tactics employed (such as the superintendent's control over information and the majority faction's ties to the community elite) were consistent with their perception of their roles and responsibilities as school district officials in a particular school district. In a similar manner, those who challenged the dominant coalition also followed a consistent set of rules or expectations. As a consequence, there was an underlying logic to what often appeared to be a choatic and conflictual state of affairs. The ultimate aim of a political analysis is to uncover this logic.

Identifying the logic underlying district activity can also help clarify important points of change in a district. From a political perspective, the most important change centers around alteration of the dominant coalition and/or authority structure of the district. For example, in one district we observed (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b), a taxpayer's group concerned over rising school costs was able to mobilize sufficient community support to gain a majority of seats on the school board. This coalition was able to oust the superintendent from office, alter the content and definition of other administrative roles, and to undertake a review of the district curriculum with an eye toward adapting a more fundamental or back-to-basics approach to education. Shocked by some of these actions, a rival coalition consisting of teachers, parent groups, and members of the community elite was formed, and after intensive campaigning, was able to replace the taxpayer's group as the majority faction of the school board. This new coalition then proceeded to implement a series of its own changes in school district policy. A political perspective provides a means of analyzing these changes, changes which would go unnoticed by a structural analysis and would appear totally chaotic to a descriptive analysis.

To conclude, the elements of a political perspective combine with the questions which are fundamental to a political analysis present a realistic image of school districts as organizations. It is an image which is capable of capturing the logic underlying the often apparent chaos of school district activity, while also highlighting areas in which significant change is likely to occur. As such, it is a perspective which holds promise for both researchers and practitioners.

III. The Generation of Practical Theory.

The basic appeal being made in this paper is for the generation of practical theory. By practical theory, we mean theories of organization which are general enough to be of interest to organizational theorists, yet specific enough to be of use to practitioners. To demonstrate the need for and value of practical theory, we have focused on the study of school districts as organizations. We saw that the dominant perspectives in organizational theory are too general to capture the specific dynamics of school districts, while the approaches which have been used in educational research are too specific to allow for useful generalization. To overcome these limitations, we advocated the use of a political analysis for the study of schools as organizations. Political approaches to the study of organizations have received increasing attention in recent years (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980; Pfeffer, 1981), and the application of a political perspective to a specific type of organization promises to help refine the theoretical framework of these approaches. It also offers a viable theory of schools as organizations for use by educational researchers, something which has been lacking in the past (Cunningham, Hark, and Nystrand, 1977; Immegart and Boyd, 1979; Boyan, 1981).

The results of a political analysis of schools as organizations also have direct implications for educational practitioners. From a political perspective, educational administrators play a critical role mediating between the various systems in the district in an effort to integrate diverse perspectives and achieve the consensus necessary to ensure district operations. As we have seen, the structure of the organization has a direct effect on the political dynamics of a district. If we consider organizational design (i.e., the development of organizational structure) as a matter of strategic choice (Child, 1972), then a political analysis of schools as organizations should be able to suggest design alternatives which would assist in the achievement of consensus. To illustrate this, we will outline briefly some possible structural arrangements that might be employed to deal with each of the major actors in a school district.

The structure of the school district affects the creation and maintenance of consensus by specifying what authority each actor has, what information each actor has access to, and what work related activities each actor may engage in. Viewing organizational design as a strategic choice, the aim would be to create a design which would provide actors with only that authority, information, and activity necessary to achieve consensus. Too little might cause unrest as actors seek out more information or authority, while too much may create conflict between actors who feel their "rights" are being infringed upon by another. Exactly what is the proper design will vary from district to district, but several possibilities can be presented.

First, consider the community. As public institutions, schools are ultimately responsible to the community. Yet the community as a whole is often apathetic; the real danger to the achievement of consensus arises when community groups mobilize around an issue (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b). Thus, the critical question is what structures can be used to forestall such mobilization? A district may consider establishing a public relations position, whose responsibility would be to disseminate information to the public and to keep tabs on community sentiment. One might also consider establishing a file system in this department to keep track of voting in the various segments of the district in order to identify where mobilization is most likely to occur. Alternatively, administrators could be required to address community groups to maintain contact between the public and the school. Involving the community in district decision-making through the formation of community advisory groups for specific issues is another possibility. The attempt here would be to defuse criticism by providing a forum for its expression. The feasibility of this strategy, or of any strategy for dealing with the community, will depend to a great deal on the diversity of the community (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b). The more diverse the community, the greater care that must be taken in handling community affairs. On the other hand, a community exhibiting little or no diversity may require relatively little attention.

The school board is the legitimate authority in terms of school district policy. The primary challenges to consensus arise when the board is split into factions and/or when the board tries to extend the scope of its authority beyond district policy. Therefore, structures which can address these two areas should make achieving consensus less difficult. In terms of a factionalized board, one of the primary design decisions would revolve around whether to use a system of committees or to rely on the board as a whole. A committee system may defuse critiques by allowing board members to become involved in specific areas of expertise. On the other hand, this level of involvement may result in extended, in-depth questions which would slow board activity. In that case, the committee on the whole may be a better alternative. Often, the development of factions centers around access to information. Board members may be allowed to solicit information on their own from any school personnel, they may receive information from all administrators, or all information may be channeled through the superintendent. These alternatives represent different structures, the appropriateness of which will depend upon the district's particular circumstances. In general, the key element in dealing with the board is to get the board to accept a role equivalent to a board of directors (Bacharach, Lawler, and Mitchell, 1983). If this can be achieved, then questions regarding involvement in non-policy issues and access to information become less important.

Before the school board can act like a board of directors, however, the administration itself must be in order. Threats to consensus may arise in the administration due to insufficient breadth of expertise or a lack of unity in the administration (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981b). In order for the administration to act as mediator and/or integrator, it must possess sufficient expertise to relate to all of the other parties in the district on their own level. More importantly, it must possess sufficient expertise to answer any challenges posed to it by others. Two forms of structure may be employed to handle this problem. In the first, every administrator is a generalist who must possess knowledge of a number of different areas. This is usually only feasible in smaller school districts. In larger districts, the use of specialized administrators is the more common alternative. In either case, the administration must possess sufficient degrees and breadth of expertise in order to operate effectively. Of course the possession of expertise within the administration will do no good if the administration itself cannot act as a unit. While conflict within the administration may occur on a number of levels, the relationship between the principals and the central office is particularly troublesome (Bacharach, Lawler, and Mitchell, 1983). Principals expect to be granted a high degree of autonomy in running their buildings, an expectation which often conflicts with the centralization imposed by central office administrators. One possible solution to this is to establish a principal's committee which would address areas of conflict. Alternatively, one could institute a rotation of principals through the schools to establish loyalty to the district rather than a specific school. Both alternatives attempt to develop a sense of unity within the administration.

One area in which the potential conflict between the principals and central office is readily apparent is labor relations. The ability of principals to establish rapport with their staffs helps in the creation and maintenance of consensus, at least on the school level. Inconsistency in the handling of labor relations across schools, however, threatens consensus at the district level where teachers are represented by a union. To avoid this, at least two structural arrangements could be considered. In one, a centralized office of labor relations could be established, with all labor relations matters being channeled through that office. Again, this sort of specialization is most feasible in larger districts. In smaller districts, the superintendent may serve in this position. In either case, educating the principals as to what they can and cannot do under the contract should also be undertaken. A second structural arrangement would involve the establishment of labor-management committees on the school and/or district level. These committees would address specific issues of concern to teachers not covered under the union contract. By addressing teacher's concerns, the likelihood of threats to consensus arising are diminished.

Obviously, these are not the only implications for organizational design that can be drawn from a political analysis of schools as organizations. Nor is the practical utility of a political analysis of schools limited to recommendations for organizational design. Our intention was merely to provide a demonstration of potential practical application. The fact that this can be done, combined with the theoretical value of a political analysis for organizational theorists and educational researchers, supports our conviction that viewing schools as political organizations is a first step toward the generation of a practical theory of schools as organizations.

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THE POLITICS OF SCHOOL BOARD TURNOVER:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY[1]

by

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Of all the forces that buffet school districts, one of the most problematic is turnover on the school board. The potential for board turnover to factionalize the school board or to alter the minority status of an already existing faction can have a major impact on the administration of a district.[2] Despite its importance, there has been little research on school board turnover. Although the study of turnover in organizations has generated a substantial volume of literature,[3] many of the key variables in this research (e.g., paid positions, opportunity for promotions, alternative job opportunities) make its applicability to the study of board turnover questionable. Most importantly, the prior research on turnover does not account for what we feel is the critical aspect of school board turnover, namely the fact that it is part of a political process.[4] In this paper, we will use a political perspective to examine school board turnover. We will try to identify basic types of school board members and look at the affect of these characterizations on board turnover.

The Study of Turnover

Traditionally, there have been two areas which have dealt with the study of turnover. One is the direct study of turnover, while the other is the study of organizational commitment in which turnover is seen as a primary consequence of low commitment. Since these areas overlap both conceptually and empirically, for our purposes they may be treated as a single entity.[5]

Drawing on the literature related to turnover and commitment, two broad classes of antecedants may be identified. The first uses an exchange framework to determine the perceived utility of the position occupied.[6] Under this framework, the employee is assumed to make a comparison between his/her present position and some alternative position. Variables which are likely to play a particularly important role in this comparison are pay and promotional opportunities. If the alternative position is seen as offering better pay and/or better promotional opportunities, the employee is more likely to leave their current position. Thus the key variables in an exchange approach are pay, promotional opportunities, and the presence of alternative job opportunities. Insofar as tenure in a position generally enhances the value of one's current job, tenure is also an important variable in this approach.[7]

What is striking about these variables is the fact that they are almost totally inapplicable to the study of school board turnover. School board members are volunteers, therefore the question of pay does not arise (although the lack of pay for what is often a demanding position may be a factor in board turnover). While one may aspire to specific offices on the board, strictly speaking all board members are equal, so there are no promotional opportunities per se. Given the lack of pay and promotional opportunities, it is not clear what benefits accrue from tenure on a school board, other than experience. The lack of tangible material rewards also makes the question of comparison alternatives problematic. This is not to say that some semblance of an exchange or utility framework cannot be applied to the problem of school board turnover, just that the variables which have been used to study turnover in other positions are inappropriate for this purpose. Rather than focus on the material benefits which are assumed to be the basis of self-interest in most exchange models, we believe it is necessary to concentrate on the political motivations of school board members, for it is in those motivations (in terms of their goal or purpose for serving on the board) that the basis of their self-interest will be found.

Consideration of the political motivations of school board members requires that one address the second class of antecedants that can be identified in the commitment and turnover literature, namely those dealing with an employee's expectations and work experience.[8] Basically, this approach assumes that employees enter an organization with certain expectations about the positions they were hired to fill. Once on the job, the degree to which their actual work experience matches their expectations will determine their propensity to leave the organization. Granted, it would be possible to merge this approach with the exchange approach by looking at the expectations an employee develops regarding material benefits such as pay and promotional opportunities. In general, however, those studying the affect of expectations and work experience have been more concerned with the psychological aspects of work such as the development of work norms and the employees sense of identity on the job. Variables related to job characteristics have received a great deal of emphasis in investigating these aspects of work, the assumption being that certain characteristics (e.g., autonomy, participation, lack of routinization) will provide a positive work experience, enhancing the employee's sense of competence and identity, and thereby decreasing the likelihood of turnover.[9]

Despite the relative success researchers have had in isolating job characteristics as predictors of turnover, the relevance of this research to the study of board turnover is debatable.[10] If, as argued above, people run for the board with a set of implicit or explicit goals for the school system, then it seems likely that their ability to achieve these goals in practice would be a critical factor impacting on board turnover. Although job characteristics may have an affect on goal achievement and therefore indirectly on turnover,[11] the recognition of the political aspects of the position of a school board member would suggest that it is the political ability of the board member that is the crucial factor determining the degree of goal achievement.

Thus while the literature on turnover identifies two approaches to the study of turnover, the empirical focus of these approaches as used in past research is inappropriate to the study of school board turnover. In order for either the exchange/utility approach or the expectations/experience approach to be relevant to the examination of board turnover, they must shed their concerns with material benefits and personal growth, respectively, and focus instead on the political context in which a school board member's utilities, expectations, and experiences are developed and maintained.

The School Board as a Political Entity

Consideration of the political context of school board activity requires that we conceptualize the school district as a political system. This involves: 1) seeing both internal and external relations as part of the political process; 2) conceiving of participants as political actors with their own needs, objectives, and strategies to achieve these objectives; 3) recognizing that coalitions of actors emerge in organizations, identify collective objectives, and identify strategies to achieve their objectives; 4) realizing that actions are constrained by organizational structures, technologies and ideologies; and 5) viewing decision-making processes as the primary arena for political activity.[12] Utilizing this conceptualization of school districts as political systems, it is possible to reconsider the role both the exchange/utility approach and the expectation/experience approach may play in the study of school board turnover.

The primary resource available to the school board member is the power of legitimation. By law, the school board has final authority over much of school district policy. Although this power resides in the entire board, the individual board member, by virtue of his/her vote, shares in that legitimacy. It is this ability to vote that is the basic resource a board member has to exchange. The ability of a board member to use this resource may vary. Those who consider the board as a rubber stamp for the administration would probably argue there is little to be gained from an examination of the political ability of a board member. Others, who are more willing to accept the authority of the board, recognize that board members respond to particular issues, and that in this responsiveness lies the roots of politics.[13] Board members will use their vote in an attempt to pass issues which they support. They may also be willing to trade their vote on issues for which they have little feeling in exchange for another board member's vote on an issue they do consider important, or for information or expertise from teachers or the administration which would support an issue they consider important, or for the support of community groups which would insure their survival on the board. The point is that the exchange in which board members engage, and any utility which may result, is at its heart a political process steeped in self-interest and coalition formation around specific issues. In line with the previous literature on turnover, we hypothesize that the ability of a board member to engage in such exchanges will affect his/her turnover on the board.

Of course, not all issues will be susceptible to exchanges. Only those which are perceived as related to a board member's self-interest are likely to generate political manuvering. Identifying a board member's self-interest seems likely to be directly related to his/her expectations concerning their membership on the board. Most board members assume their position with some vision of what they would like the school district to be. This vision or orientation may be liberal or conservative, it may involve curriculum or finance.[14] Whatever its content, specific issues which arise will be assessed in terms of their relation to this vision. In turn, the board member's actual experience in trying to enact this vision through specific decisions will determine the degree to which these expectations are met. As noted above, an individual's success will be dependent in part on their political ability to engage in exchange relationships. Failure to achieve these expectations is likely to result in turnover.

Thus unlike much of the previous research which has been able to separate the exchange/utility approach from the expectations experience, the political aspects of board membership leads to an integration of these perspectives. An investigation of board turnover requires the use of variables capable of capturing the political process, i.e., it must focus on specific issues, the formation of coalitions, and the achievement of expectations. The research reported here is a preliminary attempt to examine the impact of such variables on school board turnover.

METHOD

Sample

This report is based on survey data collected in 83 school districts in New York State. These districts are a random sample stratified according to geographic location, size, wealth of the district, and district expenditures. Four regions in New York State were utilized for geographic location. The sample included 30 districts from the Binghamton-Elmira region; 14 districts in the Rochester region; 22 districts in the Syracuse region; and 17 districts in the Elmsford region. Average daily attendance in K-12 for each district was used as an indication of size. The average size of our sample is 3,128. The size of the districts ranges from a low of 277 to a high of 12,205. Assessed valuation was employed as a measure of district wealth. The average assessed valuation per pupil in our sample is $19,517; the range is from a low of $4,265 to a high of $52,761. Expenditures are indexed by the total general and federal aid expenditures for a district. The average per pupil expenditures goes from a low of $1,678 to a high of $4,101.

For each district, the superintendent, central office administrative assistants, school board members, teachers in the largest elementary school and largest high school, and the principals of those schools received questionnaires. The data reported here are based on responses obtained from 263 school board members (response rate = 48%).

Dependent Variable

Ideally, the study of turnover would involve the use of objective indices of turnover. A person present at one point in time and absent at another would be classified as one case of turnover. Unfortunately, this ideal case has practical limitations. It requires the use of either a longitudinal design or of retrospective accounts collected from people who have left the organization. The former is expensive, requires time, and risks the possibility of encountering no cases of turnover, while the latter raises serious questions regarding the validity of retrospective accounts, particularly where one is concerned with identifying antecedant predictors of turnover. The most common solution to these difficulties involves the utilization of measures of intent to leave the organization. Although this is not a perfect measure, research indicates that intent to leave is highly correlated with actual turnover.[15] Further it is substantially easier to collect data using this measure. Accordingly, we employed a measure of intent to leave as our measure of turnover. Specifically, board members were asked, "when your present term of office is up, do you currently anticipate running for another term?" Responses were coded on a scale of 1 = no, 2 = don't know, and 3 = yes. The mean for our sample was 1.89, with a high of 3 and a low of 1, and a standard deviation equal to .84.

Independent Variables and Analysis

Since this was considered an exporatory study with little or no research to guide the selection of variables, a somewhat untraditional approach was taken to the creation and analysis of independent variables. A three stage process was used. In the first stage, the basis concepts of politics in organizations were used to generate a large set of independent variables. These variables were then correlated with the dependent variable. Only those which emerged as significant were carried on to the second stage. In the second stage, the remaining variables were subjected to a principal factoring with varimax rotation. True factor scales were then created for each factor and these became the independent variables for the final stage of analysis. In the last stage, the factor scales were regressed onto the dependent variable to identify the primary predictors of school board turnover.

STAGE 1: As noted earlier, the set of independent variables must take account of coalitions, specific issues, and the fulfillment of expectations. In regards to coalitions, four different interest groups may be identified in school districts: the school board, the administration, the teachers, and the community.[16] An individual board member may form a coalition with any of these groups. Further, the pressure to form a coalition with one of these groups may begin before a board member decides to run for office and continue once s/he is elected. The survey used contained three sets of items which allow us to assess the degree of pressure felt by members from various groups at different stages of their "careers" as board members. The first set asked members, "when first making your decision to run for election to the school board, how important were each of the following in reaching a decision?" There followed a list of items such as encouragement from board members, encouragement from public citizens groups, encouragement from professional school personnel, encouragement from friends and neighbors, and encouragement from government and political figures, which were to be rated on a scale of 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important). The second set asked respondents, "When you first served on the school board, how useful were the following people, groups, or events in filling you in on how the school district 'really' works?" This was followed by a list of positions in the district which included roles from each of the four interest groups identified above. Each role was rated on a scale of 1 (very useful) to 5 (had no contact). The third set required board members to indicate "how often...the following groups or people make demands on you?" This was followed by a list of positions similar to that in the second set of questions, each of which was rated on a scale of 1 (seldom or never) to 4 (almost always). Insofar as the potential for coalitions with the community will vary with the diversity, stability, and predictability of the local environment, questions related to these factors were included in our preliminary analysis.[17]

Coalition formation generally occurs around specific issues, with the choice of a coalition partner guided by ideological agreement or by the other party's degree of power.[18] The questionnaire contained a series of items on school district decision making which allow us to assess these possibilities. Each set of items in the section on decision-making contained a list of 23 specific decisions which can be grouped into nine general categories of issues: district, monetary, negotiations, daily labor relations, personnel, control, classroom, testing, and special programs/community relations. Three sets of items were used in the preliminary analysis. The first provided respondents with a list of roles in the district and asked them to indicate who had authority over each issue. From this, it is possible to construct a measure of each interest group's perceived authority over each category of issues.[19] The second set of items required respondents to indicate how much influence each role had over each issue.

as well as how much influence they felt each role should have. A measure of decisional deprivation for each group in each issue area was constructed by subtracting the amount of actual influence from the amount of desired influence.[20] The third set of items asked board members to indicate which person or groups they were likely to agree with on a given issue. These responses were used to construct agreement scores with each interest group for each category of issues. In addition to the questions on decision making, the survey contained a series of questions regarding the local teachers union. Of specific interest are a set of items which asked respondents to indicate whether the local union should become more or less involved in a number of different areas such as compensation, class size, evaluation, non-teaching duties, etc.[21] A single item requiring board members to rate the union's power relative to the administration was also included in the analysis.

In regards to the fulfillment of expectations, three sets of items were used as a rough indicator of this factor. The first required school board members to rate their perception of the value of their services to the school district in their eyes, in the eyes of the superintendent, and in the eyes of the public. All three were recorded on a scale of 1 (not at all valuable) to 5 (very valuable). The same scale was used in the second item which asked respondents how valuable the rewards received from their position as board member are to them. The assumption being made is that the more valuable a member's services and rewards, the greater the probability that one's expectations have been met. The third set of questions asked responsdents to indicate how satisfied they were with their position as board members.[22] Insofar as the fulfillment of expectations is generally realted to experience, three measures of experience (time in district, tenure on board, and number of times elected) were also included in this stage of the analysis.

Having created a rather substantial collection of independent variables which capture the essence of the political context in which board members operate, we proceeded to correlate each of the independent variables with the dependent variable. Thirty-two variables emerged as significant and were carried to the second stage of the analysis.[23]

STAGE 2: In stage two of our analysis, the variables which emerged as significant from the first stage were subjected to a principal factors analysis with varimax rotation. It was anticipated that the factor analysis would identify the most common patterns of political activity school board members engage in. In a sense, such patterns could be taken as characterizations of types of school board members. By using the factor results to create scales on which to score each respondent, we would then have ratings of each board member's political activity.

Eleven factors emerged from the factor analysis. Items with factor loadings of .10 or higher were then used to create true factor scales for each of the eleven factors.[24] These scales then became the independent variables for use in the final stage of our analysis.

STAGE 3: In the final stage of our analysis, the eleven patterns of political activity identified by the factor analysis were regressed against the dependent variable of school board turnover. Seven of the eleven factors emerged as significant predictors of school board turnover.

Results and Discussion

If we accept the argument that the factor scales are indicative of patterns of political activity, then the results of the regression performed in stage 3 of the analysis can be seen as identifying those patterns which will lead a board member not to run again and those patterns which are likely to result in a decision to run again. Of the seven patterns which emerged as significant, three predict to not running and four predict to deciding to run again. Table 1 summarizes each set of factors and the variables which comprise each.

The first factor, administrative deprivation, predicts to board turnover (beta = -.14). The three items which contribute to this factor - administrative deprivation over monetary issues, administrative deprivation over negotiations, and administrative deprivation over special programs/community relations - all deal with the administration not having the influence that board members believe they should have. This suggests that frustration with the administration's ability to get things done is one reason for deciding to leave the school board.

The second factor contains only one item - length of time on the board. Not surprisingly, the longer someone is on the board, the less likely s/he is to run again (beta = -.22). What is interesting about this result is the fact that it is opposite of almost all of the previous research on turnover which shows that tenure predicts negatively to turnover.[25] This reinforces the argument made earlier regarding the unique position of the school board member and the necessity of taking this uniqueness into account when investigating turnover.[26]

The final factor predisposing a board member not to run again is agreement with the current board (factor 3, beta = -.12). Particularly important are agreement with the current board's handling of negotiations, control issues, daily labor relations, and district issues. The general attitude implied is one of "the rest of the board has things in hand, so I can leave."

Table 1: Predictors of School Board Turnover

Factor Name	Variables (Factor loading)	Predicts To	Beta
1. Administrative Deprivation	a. Admin. Deprived Monetary Issues (.33)	Not running	-.14***
	b. Admin. Deprived Negotiations (.54)		
	c. Admin. Deprived Special Programs/ Community Relations (.17)		
2. Tenure on Board	a. Length of Time on Board (.94)	Not Running	-.22***
3. Agree with Current Board	a. Agree Board on Negotiations (.19)	Not Running	-.12**
	b. Agree Board on Control (.18)		
	c. Agree Board on Daily Labor Relations (.40)		
	d. Agree Board on District Issues (.30)		
4. Union Involvement	a. More Union Involvement Compensation (.11)	Running	.19***
	b. More Union Involvement Class Size (.12)		
	c. More Union Involvement Non-Teaching Duties (.20)		
	d. More Union Involvement Leaves (.20)		
	e. More Union Involvement Tuition (.15)		
	f. More Union Involvement Evaluation (.24)		
	g. More Union Involvement Discipline (.16)		
	h. More Union Involvement Job Say (.13)		
5. Conflict on Authority Over Control Issues	a. Teachers' Authority Over Control Issues (.22)	Running	.13**
	b. Administration's Authority Over Control Issues (-.60)		
6. Self Value	a. Length Time on Board (.15)	Running	.14**
	b. # Times Won Election (-.16)		
	c. Superintendent's View of Value (.22)		
	d. Value of Rewards (.21)		
	e. Socialized By Administrative Assistants (-.38)		
	f. Demands By Businessmen (-.12)		
	g. Board Authority Over Classroom Issues (-.13)		
7. ?	a. Value Rewards (.14)	Running	.11**
	b. Agree Bd. on Control Issues (-.20)		
	c. Agree Board on Daily Labor Relations (.12)		
	d. Union Involvement in Leaves (-.15)		
	e. Union Involvement in Discipline (.10)		
	f. Union Involvement in Keeping Members Informed (.48)		
	g. Admin. Deprived Monetary Issues (.11)		
	h. Admin. Deprived Special Programs/Community Relations (-.16)		

*** $p \leq .01$

** $p \leq .05$

Turning to factors which predict to a board member's deciding to run again, the results indicate that being a pro-union candidate, i.e., desiring more union involvement in a variety of areas (compensation, class size, non-teaching duties, leaves, tuition reimbursement, evaluation, discipline, and job say), predicts to attempting to remain in office (factor 4, beta = .19). This result highlights the role of interest groups and coalitions in school district politics, while also sensitizing one to the presence of single issue candidates on the school board.

In contrast to the board member who favors more union involvement and therefore decides to run again, there is the board member who feels that the teachers have usurped authority over control issues which should be in the hands of the administration. This conflict regarding authority over control issues is sufficient to make some board members decide to run for another term of office (factor 5, beta = .13).

A pro-administration attitude is also apparent in factor six. The items included in this factor reveal a pattern of activity which includes having some degree of tenure on the board (yet with few election victories), socialization by members of the administration, few demands from the community, a desire to increase the board's authority over classroom issues, a belief that the superintendent values your services to the district, and feeling that the rewards of serving on the board are very important. Board members who engage in this pattern of activity are likely to run again for office (beta = .14).

The final factor predicting to a decision to run for office again includes a number of items which express both agreement and discontent with different groups in the school district. To illustrate, the factor suggests a pattern of activity which involves disagreement with the way the current board handles control issues, but agreement with the board's handling of daily labor relations; a desire for the union to be less involved in leaves, but more involved in both discipline and keeping their members informed; and a belief that the administration does not have sufficient influence over monetary issues, but too much influence over special programs/community relations. Furthering this set of beliefs provides the board member with very important rewards. While uncertain what to call this pattern of activity, its presence does predict to seeking another term on the school board (factor 7, beta = .11).

Despite the relatively low loadings of several items in the seven factors and the significant but low betas, we firmly believe that the analysis and results presented are of importance as an exploratory study of school board turnover. The patterns of activity identified by the factors have a high degree of face validity, as well as strong intuitive appeal. When the results have been presented to practitioners, they have been greeted with nods of recognition. Thus although the results need to be replicated and expanded upon, they appear to be heading in a direction which holds promise for both theory and practice.

This direction centers around a political analysis of schools and school districts as organizations. The results suggest that it is the specific issues confronting the school district and the alignment of interest groups around these issues that has a major impact on the identity developed by a school board member and his/her subsequent decision whether or not to seek another term in office. As noted earlier, the study of issues, interest groups, and coalitions lies at the heart of a political analysis.

The identification of distinct patterns of political activity among board members also highlights the possible complexity of school district politics. Any given school board is likely to contain several different types of board members, each with their own concern over specific issues and tendency to align with specific interest groups. It is the relative degree of factionalization on the board and the ability of members to negotiate agreements (often with the aid of the superintendent) that constitutes the process of school board politics.

Obviously, then, the make-up of the school board can have a significant effect on the amount of turmoil or quiescence a school district exhibits. Further, the future state of the district depends, in part, on the turnover of current members of the school board. Assuming that school administrators generally prefer a quiet board to a turbulent board, knowing which board members are likely to stay or leave can help them prepare for potential futures. The bottom line is that which member decides to leave and which member chooses to run again may have a substantially different affect on the district. Turnover may prove to be functional or dysfunctional for the district.[27] The results presented here may begin to sensitize us to the various possibilities.

Conclusion

School board turnover is almost an annual event in most school districts, an event which may have a significant affect on the administration of the school district. Yet surprisingly little research has been done on the predictors of school board turnover. Although the voluminous literature on job turnover provides two approaches to the study of turnover, i.e., exchange/utility and expectation/experience models, the assumptions which have guided prior research using these models make their direct application to the study of board turnover problematic. Specifically, their focus on variables such as pay, promotion, alternative job opportunities, and job characteristics is inappropriate for the study of board turnover.

These models prove useful, however, when embedded in a perspective which accounts for the political context in which school board turnover occurs. This requires focusing on specific issues, the alignment of interest groups around these issues, and the relative success of these alignments in achieving board member's objectives. The results presented in this paper suggest that the patterns of political activity school board members adopt predict to their decision on whether or not to seek another term in office.

Our concern here has been to conduct an exploratory study of the politics of school board turnover. We believe that the results support the value of a political approach and deserve to be expanded upon in future research. While school board turnover may accentuate the political aspects of turnover, it seems likely that politics plays an important role in other types of turnover as well. Pay raises and promotional opportunities are often seen as part of a political game in organizations, and the smart administrator knows how to ride a specific issue to the top, and what groups to align with in the organization. Failure in organizational politics may lead to turnover, regardless of what position or type of organization one is concerned with.[28] Because of this, the preliminary step towards assessing the political context of school turnover presented here may prove valuable to the study of turnover in general.

Footnotes

1. This material is based on work supported by the National Institute of Education under Grant Number NIE G 78 0080, Dr. Samuel B. Bacharach, principal investigator. Any opinions, findings, conclusions or recommendations expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute or the Department of Education.

2. See S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, "Critical Variables in the Formation and Maintenance of Consensus in School Districts," Educational Administration Quarterly, 1981, 17 (4), 74-97.

3. Recent reviews of the turnover literature include A. Bluedorn, "The Theories of Turnover: Causes, Effects, and Meaning," in S. Bacharach (ed), Research in The Sociology of Organizations. Vol. 1, Greenwich, Conn: JAI Press, 1982; W. Mobley, R. Griffeth, H. Hand, and B. Meglino, "Review and Conceptual Analysis of the Employee Turnover Process," Psychological Bulletin, 1979, 86, 493-522; and R. Steers and R. Mowday, "Employee Turnover and Post-Decision Accomodation Processes," in L. Cumming and B. Stow (eds), Research in Organizational Behavior, vol. 3. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1981.

4. The necessity of viewing school organizations as political systems is elaborated by S. Bacharach "Organizational and Political Dimensions for Research on School District Governance and Administration," in S. Bacharach (ed), Organizational Behavior in Schools and School Districts, New York: Praeger, 1981.

5. Conceptually, the study of turnover and the study of commitment deal with the same basic variables. Their similarity can be seen by considering the operationalizations ordinarily used as the dependent variable: in

turnover, the respondents intent to leave the organization is taken as a surrogate measure of turnover (see Bluedorn, op. cit); whereas in commitment, the respondent's intent to stay is used. Nor surprisingly, low commitment leads to turnover.

6. One of the first researchers to make this explicit was R. Steers, "Antecedants and Outcomes of Organizational Commitment", Administrative Science Quarterly, 1977, 22, 46-56. Both J. Stevens, J. Beyer and H. Trice, "Assessing Personal, Role, and Organizational Predictors of Managerial Commitment", Academy of Management Journal, 1978, 21, 380-396 and J. Morris and J. Sherman, "Generalizability of an Organizational Commitment Model", Academy of Management Journal, 24, 512-526, follow up on this line of argument.

7. Studies examining the impact of pay include: T. Martin, "A Contextual Model of Employee Turnover Intentions", Academy of Management Journal, 1979, 22, 313-324; W. Mobly et. al., op. cit.,; and J. Price and C. Mueller, "A Causal Model of Turnover for Nurses", Academy of Management Journal, 1981, 24, 543-565. Both the Martin and Mobly et. al. papers also look at the affect of promotional opportunities. Discussions of the importance of alternatives (and information on alternatives) can be found in: W. Mobly et. al., op. cit.,; R. Steers and R. Mowday, op. cit.; and A. Bluedorn, op. cit. Both J. Price and C. Mueller, op. cit., and J. Mitchell, "The Effect of Intentions, Tenure, Personal and Organizational Variables on Managerial Turnover", Academy of Management Journal, 1981, 24, 742-751 consider the importance of tenure in the study of turnover.

8. See J. Stevens, J. Beyer and H. Trice, op. cit., R. Steers, op. cit; J. Morris and J. Sherman, op. cit.; R. Steers and R. Mowday, op. cit.; A. Bluedorn, op. cit.; and H. Angle and J. Perry, "An Empirical Assessment of Organizational Commitment and Organizational Effectiveness,"

Administrative Science Quarterly, 1981, 26, 1-14.

9. The assumptions related to the role of job characteristics are adopted from the literature on job satisfaction, job motivation, and job re-design. J. Hackman and G. Oldham, Work Redesign. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1980, is a good illustration of this line of reasoning. In terms of the turnover and commitment research, J. Morris and J. Sherman, op. cit.; J. Price and C. Mueller, op. cit.; and R. Mowday and D. Spencer, "The Influence of Task and Personality Characteristics on Employee Turnover and Absenteeism Incidents," Academy of Management Journal, 24, 634-642, all provide evidence for the impact of job characteristics on turnover.

10. Indeed, preliminary analysis conducted in the early stages of the research reported here failed to show any significant correlations between job characteristics and board turnover.

11. See S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, "The Sources of Dissatisfaction in Educational Administration: A Role Specific Analysis", Educational Administration Quarterly, 1983, 18, for a discussion of the relation of job characteristics to role performance.

12. This list is adopted from S. Bacharach, op. cit; and S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, "Critical Variables in the Formation and Maintenance of Consensus in School Districts", op. cit.

13. Studies which view the board as a rubber stamp for the administration include: R. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962; N. Kerr, "The School Board as an Agency of Legitimation", Sociology of Education, 1964, 38, 34-54; and L. Iannaccone and F. Lutz, Politics, Power, and Policy: The Governing of Local School Districts. Columbus: Charles Merril, 1970. H. Zeigler and K. Jennings, Governing American Schools. North Scituate, Mass: Duxbury Press, 1974 are an example of someone who recognizes the role of

political activity in securing the board's legitimation.

14. The notion of a liberal versus conservative vision is adopted from D. Mitchell, "Ideology and Public Policy-Making", Urban Education, 1974, 9 (1), 35-49; that of a curriculum versus finance vision from S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, "Critical Variables...," op. cit.

15. See Mobley et. al., op. cit., and A. Bluedorn, op. cit., for a discussion of the use of intent to leave as a measure of turnover.

16. See S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, ibid.

17. The questions are the same as those used in S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, "The Sources of Dissatisfaction...," op. cit.

18. For a discussion of coalition formation, see S. Bacharach and E. Lawler, Power and Politics in Organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1981.

19. In constructing measures from the decision-making questions, Superintendents, Administrative Assistants, and Principals were counted as administration, while PTA and parents were counted as community. Teachers and the school board were single roles in the survey items.

20. The construction of decisional deprivation measures is discussed in S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, "Organization and Expectations: Organizational Determinants of Union Membership Demands", in D. Lipsky (ed), Advances in Industrial and Labor Relations. Vol. 1, Greenwich, Conn: JAI Press, 1982.

21. See S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, ibid, for a discussion of this measure.

22. See S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, "The Sources of Dissatisfaction in Educational Administration: A Role Specific Analysis," op. cit., for a discussion of this measure.

23. To our minds, the important part of the analysis lies in the final stage. In the interest of space, we will only present figures related to that

aspect of the analysis. Statistics for the other stages of the analysis are available from the authors.

24. By rue factor scale, we mean that each scale was constructed using the following formula: scale = (Factor loading 1 * (respondent score 1 - mean 1)/standard deviation 1) + (Factor loading 2 * (respondent score 2 - mean 2)/standard deviation 2) + ... (Factor loading n * (respondent score n - mean n)/standard deviation n)

25. For example, see J. Price and C. Mueller, op. cit.; and J. Mitchell, op. cit.

26. A similar call for the use of a situational specific approach to the study of turnover was made by R. Marsh and H. Mannari "Organizational Commitment and Turnover: A Prediction Study", Administrative Science Quarterly, 1977, 22, 57-75.

27. The dominant view in the literature on turnover has assumed that turnover is a negative phenomenon which carries implicit and explicit costs to the organization. More recently, this view has been questioned as researchers begin to consider the possible benefits of turnover to the organization. See A. Bluedorn, op. cit.; R. Steers and R. Mowday, op. cit.; G. Dreker "The Role of Performance in the Turnover Process", Academy of Management Journal, 1982, 25, 137-147; W. Mobley "Some Unanswered Questions in Turnover and Withdrawal Research", Adademy of Management Review, 1982, 7, 111-116; D. Dalton, W. Todor, and D. Krackhardt "Turnover Overstated: The Functional Taxonomy", Academy of Management Review, 1982, 7, 117-123; and D. Dalton and W. Todor "Turnover: A Lucrative Hard Dollar Phenomenon", Academy of Management Review, 1982, 7, 212-218.

28. Indeed, turnover may be seen as one tactic in a political process. See A. Hirschman Exit, Voice, and Loyalty, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1972.

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OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES: THE QUALITY OF WORK LIFE IN SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS

by

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Often it seems that the art of educational administration lies in the ability to create a sense of certainty out of the apparent chaos confronting school administrators. In their efforts to deal with the uncertainty generated by declining enrollments, unpredictable state budgets, vocal taxpayer groups, and a myriad of other factors, practitioners, as well as scholars in educational administration, have recurrently turned to the broader field of management and administration in search of techniques or concepts applicable to the issues they face. Unfortunately, those in educational administration have too often engaged in the indiscriminate and uncritical borrowing of techniques and concepts, adopting then without paying sufficient attention to their specific needs or the unique properties of their organizations. Through trial and error, many of these borrowed techniques and concepts may be adjusted to the specificities of school organizations, but frequently the end result has been an increase in the apparent confusion surrounding the administration of school systems and a certain cynicism among many concerning the applicability of outside techniques and concepts to the practice of school district management. Despite the fact that the landscape of educational administration is littered with the remnants of T-groups, management-by-objective, and the like, the search for new techniques and concepts continues unabated. One of the latest is the "quality of work life". While we believe that attending to the quality of work life can offer a unique opportunity to improve the management of schools and school districts, if not used properly, it will simply be another passing fad or cure-all. In order to enable administrators to make a knowledgeable decision regarding the applicability of the "quality of work life" to their school systems, this paper will present a brief review of what exactly it involves.

A Brief History

It is important to recognize that "the quality of work life" is not a specific technique, but a label haphazardly applied to a wide variety of techniques. Included here are surveys and the qualitative analysis of systems, quality circles, work redesign (including flextime and job sharing), sociotechnical systems and autonomous work groups, joint labor-management committees, and upward communication projects such as employee feedback and "open-door" policies. What all of these programs share, and what may be seen as the fundamental basis for the notion of the quality of work life, is a concern with the conditions of life at work.

This concern, however, is not new. Indeed, it can be argued that a concern for the conditions of life at work has occupied social and organizational theorists since the mid-19th century. It is with the writings of social theorists such as Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Karl Marx that we first see such concerns arising. These authors were responding to the rise of industry, asking questions regarding the form these new organizations were taking and their impact on the social life and community of their time. Two common elements running through their observations are the increasing rationalization of work and the loss of a sense of involvement and community among workers. Appearing in various forms, these two elements capture the primary aspects of concern with the conditions of life at work to the present day.

For the early industrialists, the element of rationality predominated. Writers such as Fayol, and Gulick and Urwick emphasized the importance of a rational organizational structure to the success of the organization. It was these writers who elaborated principles related to the span of control, functional departments, etc. The element of community was expressed primarily in the belief that the success of the organization was benificial to the society.

The element of rationality, with its focus on structure, continued to dominate in the work of Frederick Taylor and other proponents of scientific management. Where the classical management theorists focused primarily on the structure of the organization, Taylor brought the power of rationality to bear on the process of work itself, using time-and-motion studies to develop the one-best-way of performing each task. This approach is so rational that one is hard-pressed to find any trace of the element of involvement and community. In fact, insofar as the use of scientific management involved taking away from the worker the ability to decide how to do a task, scientific management may be seen as making a conscious effort to reduce the importance of this second element.

The neglect of this second element was forcefully brought to the forefront with the emergence of the human relations school. Beginning with the Hawthorne studies of Mayo, Rothleisberger and Dickson, the affect of informal social relations on work was brought to the attention of management theorists and practitioners. The element of involvement and community would not be neglected again.

Each of these approaches to management -- the classical, scientific management, and human relations -- is composed of both concepts for the analysis of organizations and techniques for managing organizations. Together, these concepts and techniques constitute a management ideology. As noted above, classical theorists were primarily concerned with concepts and techniques related to the structure of the organization, scientific management theorists focused on the process of work, and those in the human relations school dealt with the social aspects of the workplace. Even today, specific techniques tend to concentrate on one of these three perspectives.

The use and development of concepts and techniques which employ multiple perspectives are few and far between. Those which do appear generally spend much of their effort trying to integrate the social element with the rational element. Two approaches to this problem deserve mentioning. The first merges the human and the rational by assuming that rationality is a property of the individual. This approach, which is based on the economic notion of a rational actor, investigates the effect of individual rationality on organizational structure and processes. Included here are the institutional school (e.g., Selznick, Gouldner) who focus on the impact of the environment and the role of self-interest in the running of organizations, and the information theorists (e.g., March and Simon) who are concerned with the impact of cognition, particularly in decision-making. Both of these theories tend to emphasize the political aspects of organizations. It is their use of rationality, however, rather than their concern with politics, that has been used to develop management techniques. In general, these techniques represent means of overcoming the individual's limited rationality (e.g., aids in decision-making).

The second approach to integrating the human and the rational investigates the details of the human element in order to devise techniques for integrating the individual into the organization. Primarily the province of industrial psychologists, this approach includes the study of such topics as selection, training, and motivation. The majority of the techniques emanating from this approach see the individual as passive, with a stable set of needs to be filled. The techniques focus on the conditions under which these needs can be filled in hopes of insuring that the worker contributes his or her full effort to the organization.

Viewed as a cumulative effort, there is a consistent development in these various management theories. Focusing on the creation of management ideologies (i.e., concepts and techniques) which would enable organizations to function efficiently and effectively, we see in these theories a development from the application of rationality to structure and work process, thru a greater recognition of the role of the social element of organizations, to attempts at integrating the rational with the social. Insofar as the techniques which are now being advocated under the label of quality of work life can be traced to the concerns raised in these earlier managerial theories, then they are indeed "old wine in new bottles." As such, they share in the limitations of these earlier theories.

Q.W.L. and Labor Management Relations

One of the fundamental limitations of the various management ideologies outlined above is their general failure to adequately assess and deal with the responses of workers. Almost all of the techniques developed as part of these various ideologies has met with resistance on the part of labor. Although it is possible to see this resistance as simply the incalcitrance of workers, to do so ignores several basic problems inherent in the ideologies which give rise to antagonistic responses by labor. These problems center around the three themes of control, participation, and cooptation.

All of the management ideologies considered above share a common concern with providing management with control over the activities of the organization. Further, the purpose of this control is to increase the productivity of the organization. Thus the classical focus on organizational structure was an attempt to develop principles which could be used to design productive organizations; the scientific management's concern with the best way to do a task was also aimed at productivity; and the human relations and other approaches dealing in the social element attempted to harness these aspects of work to increase productivity. The foundation of these assorted ideologies can be summarized in the following figure:

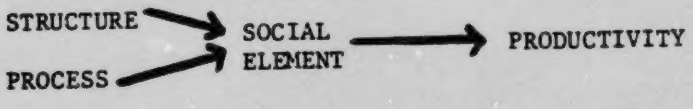

Figure 1: Foundation of Management Thought

Labor's resistance to management's efforts to gain control does not rest entirely on opposition to management having control. Rather, the basis for their antagonism is two-fold: 1) as we have seen, many of the management ideologies are dominated by the rational element to the neglect of the human element. Workers, when considered at all, are seen as passive objects subject to management manipulation. Not surprisingly, workers react negatively to this characterization and the failure to recognize the importance of the social element in the workplace; 2) Even those ideologies which recognize the social element generally fail to adapt a reasonable image of the worker. They still attempt to manipulate the worker as a passive object. It is this lack of genuine concern which labor resents. The end result of these problems in management ideologies has been the growth and development of labor unions or other manifestations of labor resistance.

Essentially, the bulk of labor's resistance, then, stems from the image of workers implicit in the various management ideologies. Labor proposes an alternative image in which the worker is seen as an active, knowledgeable person whose views should be solicited and seriously considered in running the organization. It is from this image that the theme of participation emerges. If one holds this more positive image of workers, it makes some sense that they should be allowed to participate in the decisions which determine the conditions of their working life. This line of argument is especially strong when we are dealing with professionals such as teachers who have a recognized area of expertise. They feel that their knowledge should be used as a resource, and that simply imposing structures or processes on them is an insult to their status.

Not surprisingly, management often views the call for participation as an infringement on their ability to achieve control over activities within the organization. On occasion, this may result in the adaption of techniques which produce the facade of participation without actually surrendering any control by management. The use of various types of teacher committees are often cited by teacher unions as an illustration of this. It is from these cases that the theme of cooptation arises. Potential resistance is eliminated through the appearance of participation. In reality, there is little difference between cooptation and the overt exercise of control.

In terms of the variety of techniques which fall under the rubric of quality of work life, the possibility of cooptation is critical. For the quality of work life to represent a truly new approach to the many problems of running an organization, the labor management relationship must be based on cooperation and trust. This means that the idea of participation must be taken seriously. It does not mean that management must surrender its desire for control, only that they be willing to subject themselves to the same control they seek to exercise over others.

Of course, the three themes of control, participation, and cooptation are of particular significance in school districts, where in addition to labor, the school board and public also desire to participate. The potential diversity of groups seeking participation in the administration of the school system is a primary source of the uncertainty confronting school administrators. Traditional quality of work life programs, which have their foundation in a dyadic relationship between labor and management, may require some alteration before they can be applied to the reduction of uncertainty in school districts.

A Holistic Approach to Q.W.L.

The resistance of labor to the image of the worker implicit in the various management-ideologies is not their only limitation. The very conceptualization of organizations which forms the foundation of these ideologies (see figure one) is flawed, due primarily to its inability to adequately integrate the rational and social elements of organization. Any approach to the quality of work life which fails to take account of these flaws cannot realize its full potential.

First, any approach to the quality of work life must be able to integrate different levels of analysis, i.e., individual, group, and organization. To illustrate, consider teacher's stress. Stress on the job is an important aspect of the quality of work life. It is customary to examine stress as an individual phenomenon. In this manner, stress is seen as resulting from some aspect of the individual, and individual treatment is recommended. Although individuals may vary in their susceptibility to stress, it is important to realize that it is the organizational context which acts as the stress stimuli, and that all of the teachers in a given school are subject to the same stimuli. It follows that the maximum benefit would come about from the elimination of stressful stimuli in the organization, rather than from treatment of individual teachers. Such a program must take account of the differences between elementary and secondary schools. For example, research has shown that high routinization is a predictor of stress for elementary teachers, but not for secondary teachers. It seems likely that the more bureaucratized nature of secondary schools would reduce the importance of routinization as a stress stimulus for secondary teachers. The important point is that this approach to stress successfully integrates the individual, group, and organizational levels of analysis in a way not possible in the customary treatment of stress. It is this type of integration which is one essential aspect of a holistic approach to the quality of work life.

A second aspect of a holistic approach is the reduction of organizational structure to action. In the traditional conceptualization of organizations used by the majority of management ideologies (see figure one), organizational structure is seen as an independent, objective phenomenon which can be manipulated to effect individual behavior. Although there is some validity to this perspective, we feel it is crucial that one recognize that structure only comes into existence with the action of individuals in the organization. In other words, it is the action of individuals and relation between actors from which structure derives that is important. The study of job satisfaction provides a good illustration. Traditionally, job satisfaction has been an important consideration in studies on work life because it was assumed that satisfied workers will produce more. Research, generally based in some notion of needs, sought to identify the type of structures which would foster need fulfillment. Recent developments have raised serious questions about this conceptualization. First, there is little evidence to support the idea that satisfaction results in higher productivity. Indeed, research suggests that higher productivity results in higher satisfaction. Following this line of argument, it appears that it is the impact of structure on task performance that is critical, i.e., it is structure as action on the job that is important. Structures which enhance task performance lead to satisfaction, structures which hinder task performance lead to dissatisfaction. Further, the type of structures which enhance or hinder task performance will be role specific. Thus we found that for superintendents, structures which enhanced coordination and the flow of information from the environment increased job satisfaction, while for principals contact with the environment decreased job satisfaction. The point is that it is the actions related to structure that are important, and not the organizational structure per se. Programs which focus solely on structure without considering how the structures relate to action will cause more problems than they solve.

As we have already noted, the majority of management ideologies view the worker as a passive object. The two aspects of a holistic approach we have considered thus far - the integration of individual, group, and organizational levels of analysis, and the reduction of structure to action - are directly related to a third aspect of a holistic approach to the quality of work life: the linkage of cognitions to behavior. In essence, this aspect recognizes the worker as an actor whose perceptions of the organization play an integral part in his or her behavior. For example, suppose we are concerned with turnover among school board members. Research indicates that are specific types of perceptions which predict to whether or not a board member will choose to run again. Agreement with the current board or the perception that the administration does not have the influence necessary to follow through on programs will lead to a decision not to run again, while the perception that the teachers union should be more involved in district affairs or a perception of a dispute between the administration and the board over who should make decisions over control issues are directly related to the decision to seek another term. The important point is to recognize the linkage between perceptions and behavior, and to include an assessment of perceptions in any quality of work life intervention.

In presenting the first three aspects of a holistic approach to the quality of work life, we have used examples drawn from different roles in the school system to illustrate our points. In so doing, we hoped to demonstrate that quality of work life programs apply to the entire school district, not to a single role or group. Indeed, if the three examples given were pursued in more detail, it would become apparent that school districts as organizations are characterized by a high degree of interdependence, with problems related to the work life of one group tied to the problems of another group. For example, attitudes toward teachers unions will vary across school district hierarchies, depending upon how the union influences a given role. Thus teachers support the union; principals are sympathetic, but find the unions intrusion into their school disturbing; superintendents welcome the certainty a union brings, but resent the union's entrance into management affairs; and the school board is generally antagonistic to the union's monetary demands, while wanting more union involvement in student discipline and student rights. A recognition and consideration of this interdependence and the differences in perception that accompany it are crucial to the construction of the dialogue which lies at the heart of quality of work life efforts. It is through this dialogue that all of the parties concerned are integrated into the organization and the quality of work life effort.

All of the aspects of a holistic approach to the quality of work life - the integration of levels of analysis, the reduction of structure to action, the linkage of perception to behavior, and the interdependence and integration of actors in the organization - involve a reconceptualization of the fundamental elements of an organization. The argument we are making is that this shift in theory is necessary if quality of work life programs are to succeed in practice. This shift would appear to be especially critical in schools, where their unique properties as organizations has led some organizational theorists to characterize them as "loosely coupled systems." We believe that while the limitations inherent in previous management ideologies may lead to such a characterization, if properly conceptualized school districts display an inherent logic that is anything but loose.

The Process of Q.W.L.

The emphasis in this paper is on the need for a broader conceptualization of what constitutes the quality of work life. Without such a broad conception, quality of work life programs are doomed to become another passing fad in the took kit of management techniques; with such a conceptualization, quality of work life programs may afford participants a unique opportunity to improve both the conditions of their life at work and the organization for which they work. Should the parties involved be amenable to this approach, then the actual process of implementing a quality of work life program could begin.

The basic process contains three steps: diagnosis, intervention, and evaluation. What makes quality of work life programs different from other approaches which employ this same three step process is: the emphasis on empirical data collection and what issues may be considered as part of this process. We believe that quality of work life efforts should be based in empirical knowledge of the particular organization. Only if data from the organization is used in conducting the diagnosis can the program be tailored to the specific needs of a given organization. In keeping with the emphasis on a broad conceptualization, any or all of the following issues relating to the structure of work may be examined: communication, supervision, role conflict and ambiguity, role overload, inter-group relations, physical work environment, participation, compensation, and promotion and career development. These issues should be considered in terms of their relationship to the various consequences of work itself: absenteeism and withdrawal behaviors, stress and burnout, forms of voice such as militancy, family/work conflict, and job satisfaction. Although any specific program may not consider all of these issues and consequences, it is critical that the quality of work life be seen as a multi-dimensional construct which involves all of these issues and consequences. Only a program based in such a multi-dimensional conceptualization is capable of being adapted to the specific needs of a particular organization. The quality of work life is not a generic program which can be haphazardly applied to any organization; it is a process capable of being adapted to the unique concerns of a given organization.

Because the quality of work life is a multi-dimensional construct whose process can be adapted to the specific needs of an organization, it is not possible to say exactly what a program will involve. Programs will vary in terms of their content (i.e., the issues and consequences considered, and the specific type of intervention utilized) and structure (i.e., the precise degree of union involvement, and the scope and breadth of the program in relation to the entire organization). It is this flexibility that is one of the most appealing features of the quality of work life.

In the final analysis, the quality of work life as presented in this paper almost represents a fundamental approach to management. As such, it has aspirations of being a new management ideology, one which gives equal consideration to the rational and social elements of organization. In this regard, the end result of a successful quality of work life program should entail the institutionalization of the process of the quality of work life.

Conclusion

Throughout its history, the practice of educational administration has been subject to ever increasing amounts of complexity and uncertainty. As professional administrators, those in educational administration have come to rely on a variety of management techniques in an effort to cope with the complexity and reduce the level of uncertainty they face. In this paper, we have presented a brief review of one "technique" which is currently receiving a significant amount of publicity: the quality of work life. We argued that provided one is willing to adopt a multidimensional view of the quality of work life which requires a fundamental reconceptualization of what constitutes an organization, then quality of work life programs.offer a unique mechanism through which to improve the conditions of work life in schools. If one is unable or unwilling to accept the basic elements of this multi-dimensional perspective, then quality of work life programs are simply "old wine in new bottles." The choice is yours.

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Organizational Analysis of Stress:

The Case of Elementary and Secondary Schools

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Abstract

This paper is an organizational analysis of stress in 42 elementary school organizations and 45 secondary school organizations. Organizational stress is operationalized as the aggregate average response to survey questions on the teachers' psychological and physiological states on the job. The predictors of stress differ for elementary school organizations and secondary school organizations. Among the independent variables emerging as important are role ambiguity, the rationality of promotion, and supervisory behavior.

Biographical Note

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The issue of stress has recently received a great deal of attention from practitioners and scholars alike (e.g., Cooper and Payne, 1978 and 1979; Hamilton and Warburton, 1979; Cooper and Marshall, 1980; Ivancevich and Matteson, 1980). Indeed, judging from the volume of literature and treatment of the subject, it would appear that job stress has replaced satisfaction as the primary measure of the qualitative nature of work.

The incidence of stress among teachers has received a particularly large amount of attention in the last few years (Phillips and Lee, 1980; Kyriacou and Sutcliffe, 1977, 1978, and 1979; Swick and Hanley, 1980). The demands brought to bear on teachers in the conduct of their work are varied; the teacher acts as administrator, lecturer, disciplinarian, counselor, and more. He or she regularly deals with children or adolescents, peers, superiors, parents, and other members of the community at large. The teacher is expected to keep order on the one hand and motivate students to think creatively and use imagination on the other. At the same time, teachers must deal with hostile communities that have become increasingly inclined to reduce school budgets, layoffs in the face of declining enrollments, and increases in violence in the schools. For these reasons and a host of others, the incidence of stress among teachers "...has reached epidemic proportions in some school districts." (Sparks, 1979).

While there have been numerous studies of teacher stress in the last decade, these studies have been deficient in several respects. Briefly, by failing to deal with stress as an organizational phenomenon, researchers have failed to relate various organizational structures and processes to stress. As such, means by which the organization might be redesigned in order to lessen job-related stress have not been uncovered. Nor have the differences between the experiences in secondary and elementary organizations been systematically analyzed in this regard.

This paper addresses these limitations of earlier research.

Conceptualization of Stress

In order to fully understand the implication of stress at work, it is critical to consider the notion of stress as emerging from the interaction of two factors: stress stimuli and stress resistance. Stress stimuli are the organizational characteristics or work characteristics which initiate a stress reaction in a given setting. Stress resistance refers to those characteristics of the individual which determine the point at which stress stimuli will engender a negative response in that individual.

Stress may be operationalized as that point at which the magnitude of the stress stimuli exceeds the individual's capacity to resist. In this context, stress resistance is an individual attribute, a personality trait, whereas stress stimuli are characteristics of the organization and the work process. Stress is a function, then, of the interplay between personal and organizational characteristics. Clear examples of this conception of stress may be seen in the literature dealing with the personality-environment fit (McGrath, 1976; Brief, et. al., 1981).

For an organizational structure or work process to be a stress stimulus, it must be phenomenologically interpreted by the individual (Lazarus, 1966; Lazarus and Launier, 1978). That is, the individual's perception of the organizational structure and work process, rather than the objective existence of the structure or work process, is the stress stimulus. For example, it could be argued that the worker's perception of the size of the organization would be more predictive of that individual's stress than the objective measure of organizational size. This point is, of course, at the heart of current debate in organizational theory, the debate between those who cast the organization as a reified structure and those who view the organization as individually constructed realities. If we emphasize the latter perspective, then the personality characteristics that determine the stress resistance points must be taken into account when examining the stress stimuli.

Two important questions emerge in this regard. First, how do we study stress as a response outcome without confusing it with stress resistance? Second, how do we study stress without confusing the examination of stress stimuli with the personal characteristics of the individuals perceiving those stimuli?

We approach these dilemmas by conducting an analysis which emphasizes both stress stimuli and stress as characteristics of the organization, not simply as characteristics of the individual. In the analysis, we employ measures of the average of the aggregate survey responses of the organizational members. Thus, we report a measure that represents the average perception of the organizational structures and work processes as stress stimuli and the average level of stress reported by the individuals in the organization. Although we cannot eliminate the explanatory role of individual differences, by assuming that individual characteristics are randomly distributed within and across the organization, this methodology permits us to place primary emphasis on the aggregate reality.

This has critical implications in terms of organizational design. Stress and stress stimuli can be viewed not simply as an environment-personality mismatch unique to the individual, but as a consequence of the interface between the "average work reality" in the organization and the average worker. Indeed, to examine stress on the individual level is to fail to come to grips with its increasing commonality.

This is an important argument from the point of view of both management and labor. For management, guiding redesign by the average reality of organizational members means that the redesign is likely to have maximum utility. The "average" audience will benefit from the effort rather than particular individuals, a point that is particularly critical in larger organizations. From the point of view of labor, this approach has direct relevance for conduct at the bargaining table. Any empirical argument presented by labor during negotiations over working conditions that is based upon individual characteristics is likely to be rebuffed by management as an attempt to deal with the problems of a select few individuals who have the "wrong type of personality" for a given job. An investigation directed at the average reality of organizational members is not subject to such criticism for the reasons alluded to above.

A further debate in the operationalization and measurement of stress centers around the use of self-report measures versus the utilization of more objective indices. The essence of this debate lies in the distinction between the medical conception of stress as diagnosis of symptoms and subsequent cure and the psychological conception of stress as a definition of the situation as the critical factor in defining stress. Those opposed to the use of self-report measures appear to assume that there can be a false report of stress. It is the premise of this paper that it is precisely the self-definition of stress that is important. Stress should be seen as the actor's definition of his or her reaction to a situation, not as the results of an objective analysis performed by a third party. There is an implicit conservatism to the use of objective measures insofar as a worker would be considered under stress only when diagnosed as being under stress, not when the worker feels under stress.

Research Methodology

Sample--This report is based on survey data collected in 83 school districts in New York State. These districts are a random sample stratified according to geographic location, size, wealth of the district, and district expenditures. Four regions in New York State were utilized for geographic location. The sample included 30 districts from the Binghamton-Elmira region; 14 districts in the Rochester region; 22 districts in the Syracuse region; and 17 districts in the Westchester region. Average daily attendance in K-12 for each district was used as an indication of size. The average size of our sample is 3,128. The size of the districts ranges from a low of 277 to a high of 12,205. Assessed valuation was employed as a measure of district wealth. The average assessed valuation in our sample is $65,951,748; the range is from a low of $1,904,589 to a high of $379,246,706. Expenditures are indexed by the total general and federal aid expenditures for a district. The average for our sample is $7,433,854. The range of expenditures goes from a low of $630,968 to a high of $28,308,727.

For each district, teachers in the largest elementary school and largest high school, received questionnaires. Out of 3,200 teacher questionnaires sent out, 2,247 usable surveys were returned, for a response rate of 70%. The data employed in this study are aggregated to the school level. Only those districts with a response rate of 30% or higher are included in the aggregate sample (N = 48). We decided to utilize a school level aggregation in order to capture the organizational differences between elementary and secondary schools which would lead teachers in each type of school to experience different levels of stress. The final sample employed contains 42 elementary school organizations and 45 secondary school organizations.

Measurement of the Dependent Variable - In this study we measured stress in terms of both psychological and physiological components. Items in our self-report inventory consisted of a list of symptoms adopted from Langer (1962) and Caplan et al., (1975). For each item, respondents were asked to specify how often they experienced the described condition. The scale consisted of four possible responses: 1 = seldom or never, 2 = occasionally, 3 = frequently, 4 = almost always. It should be noted that by combining the categories of seldom and never, we employ an approach more conservative than that adopted by many previous survey researchers, who count seldom as a separate and positive response.

Psychological stress was measured using the following items:

Have you experienced any of the following during the past month on the job?

1. Periods in which things don't seem to work out or in which you wonder if anything is worthwhile.
2. You were bothered by confused thoughts or difficulty in concentrating.
3. Periods of forgetfulness or loss of memory.
4. You were bothered by a sense of anxiety or nervousness.

In addition, have you experienced any of the following in the past month?

1. You felt unable to rely on or talk to anyone, even friends.

Cronbach's alpha was .80 for the scale of psychological stress.

Physiological stress was measured by the following items: Have you experienced any of the following during the past month on the job?

1. You had spells of dizziness.
2. You were bothered by having an upset stomach or stomach ache.
3. You were troubled by headaches.
4. You were in ill health which affected your work.

In addition, have you experienced any of the following in the past month?

1. You had trouble in getting to sleep or staying asleep.

Cronbach's alpha was .71 for the scale of physiological stress.

The stress measures were tabulated for elementary and secondary schools as the aggregate average of the responses to the survey items described above. We should emphasize that when we use the terms "stress", "organizational stress", etc. in the following sections, we are referring to the aggregate average reality as reported by teachers in either elementary or secondary schools. In the context of our earlier discussion, our examination is of the predictors of variance across organizations rather than within a single organization. Indeed, the variance within an organization predicted by individual job characteristics and personality characteristics is not accounted for in this analysis. By analyzing stress using organizational scores we emphasize the shared variance in stress within organizations and as such examine the differential predictors of variation across organizations. Table 1 presents the appropriate means, ranges and standard deviations of our stress scales.

Insert Table 1 about here

Table 1 indicates some obvious characteristics about our population. First, these are not extremely high stress organizations. Second, on the average, there are not dramatic differences between psychological and physiological stress on the elementary or secondary level. Finally, there do not appear to be large differences for the mean scores between elementary school and secondary school stress.

Hypotheses and Independent Variables

In addition to asking teachers to assess their physical and psychological states at the workplace, the survey instrument included questions asking teachers to rate the dimensions of their work. As was the case with the dependent variables, organizational scores were created for each of the independent variables. Table 2 presented at the end of this section shows the means, ranges and standard deviations of the independent variables.

The following models present the hypothesized relationships between the independent measures of organizational structure and process and the dependent measure of stress. In the hypotheses there is no differentiation between psychological and physiological forms of stress nor between secondary and elementary school. These finer distinctions will be detailed in the discussion of our findings.

Staffing and Enrollment

It is commonly assumed that the greater the number of students in the classroom, the greater the reported level of stress among teachers. For teachers, as for other occupations, an increased workload leads to greater pressure which, in turn, manifests itself in stress.

Two dimensions of size must be taken into account in an examination of schools: the total enrollment of students and the student/teacher ratio. These are clearly two separate phenomenon. Enrollment is reflective of the general atmosphere within a school, and the student/teacher ratio is indicative of the direct demands made upon individual teachers with respect to their own work. There may be schools with large enrollments and high student/teacher ratios or those with large enrollments and low student/teacher ratios.

Enrollment was measured as the number of full-time students enrolled in each secondary and elementary school. The student-teacher ratio was measured as the number of full-time students enrolled in each school per full-time teacher in that same school.

The demands brought upon teachers by high enrollment or high student/teacher ratios may be mitigated by increasing the staff support which teachers receive. Staff support may be of two forms: administrative support, and teaching support. Administrative support primarily reflects the ratio of middle-level supervisors to teachers. To the degree that these supervisors facilitate organizational communication, and, as such, more immediate contact between classroom teachers and the school administration, we would expect that the higher the ratio of administrative support, the lower the level of stress. On the other hand, if a high ratio of administrative support is viewed by teachers as increasing pressure due to more direct supervision, it may have an opposite effect and increase reported stress.

The ratio of teaching aides to teachers taps the degree to which full-time teachers have assistance in their everyday classroom activities. As with the case of administrative support, on the one hand it can be assumed that the more assistance teachers have, the fewer the direct demands brought to bear on them, and thus the lower their level of reported stress. On the other hand, if the presence of teaching aides translates into greater supervisory duties for the classroom teacher, we might expect that the reported level of stress would increase as the ratio of teaching support increased.

The ratio of teaching support was measured as the ratio of full-time equivalent teaching assistants to the number of full-time teachers in each school. The ratio of administrative support was computed as the total number of principals and assistant principals per full-time teachers in each school. For the purpose of empirical verification, two hypotheses may be tested:

Hypothesis 1: In organizations with larger enrollment and higher student/teacher ratio, the level of reported stress will be higher.

Hypothesis 2: In organizations with higher ratios of administrative and teaching supports, the level of reported stress will be lower.

Supervision

An obvious source of reported stress may be the type of interaction the teacher has with his or her immediate supervisor. In the case of professionals such as teachers, who may view their supervisors as peers rather than as superiors, supervision may be an especially critical stress stimulus. In examining the interaction between teachers and their supervisors, we must draw a distinction between positive supervisory behavior and negative supervisory behavior. These two modes of behavior must not be construed as dichotomous ends of the same variable, but rather as phenomenologically distinct. Positive supervisory behavior implies a supervisor who exhibits appreciation of the teachers' activities and tries to solicit direct input from teachers. Negative supervisory behavior implies a critical orientation in which the supervisor's basic mode of communication is criticism, and on a whole the supervisor is unaware of the subordinate's work activities. The simplest hypotheses resulting from this conceptualization would be:

Hypothesis 3: In organizations in which the reported levels of positive supervisory behavior are higher, the level of reported stress will be lower.

Hypothesis 4: In organizations in which the reported levels of negative supervisory behavior are higher, the level of reported stress will be higher.

Positive supervisory behavior and negative supervisory behavior were constructed from questions in which respondents were asked to indicate how often their supervisor "talks to you in the following ways," (1 = seldom or never, 2 = occasionally, 3 = frequently, and 4 = almost always). Positive supervisory behavior was tabulated as the average of the responses given to the following items:

1. Shows appreciation for your work, shows confidence in you.
2. Explains things or gives information or suggestions.
3. Asks for your suggestions or opinions.
4. Asks for information, clarification, or explanation.

Negative supervisory behavior was computed as an average of the responses for the following items:

1. Criticizes you, refuses to help or is unnecessarily formal.
2. Gives excess, unnecessary information or comments.

Work Process

The mode by which work is conducted has been cast as a primary predictor of stress in organizations (Kahn, et. al., 1964; French and Caplan, 1972). It appears that the underlying assumptions regarding the relationship between work process and stress are based on the effect of uncertainty on the worker. The most widely accepted assumption is that uncertainty in the work process will increase the reported level of worker's stress. As Kahn et al. point out, this is because uncertainty blurs expectations and minimizes predictability, thereby placing the worker in a turbulent work environment. Uncertainty in the work process may be viewed as multidimensional, but for the purpose of this paper the work process is measured in terms of work routinization and role ambiguity.

Hypothesis 5: In organizations in which the reported levels of work uncertainty are higher, (with lower reported routinization and higher reported role ambiguity), the level of reported stress will be higher.

The reverse argument could also be made. It may be the case that a report of high routinization and low ambiguity in terms of role expectation is indicative of a mundane work process which, because of its alienative nature, will increase stress.

Role ambiguity was computed as an average of the answers to the following survey items: (Adopted from Rizzo and House, 1970)

Please indicate how true the following statements are of your work experience (1 = very true, 7 = very false):

1. I feel certain about how much authority I have.
2. I know that I have divided my time properly.
3. I know what my responsibilities are.
4. I know exactly what is expected of me.

Routinization included the responses to the following items: (Adopted from Bacharach and Aiken, 1976)

1. There is something different to do here every day.
2. In my position, I need to learn to do more than one job.
3. For almost every job a teacher does there is something new happening almost every day. [Items 1-3 coded 1 = definitely true, 4 = definitely false]

4. Would you say your work here is: 1 = very nonroutine, 4 = very routine.

Participation in Decision-Making

As organizations become larger and more complex, workers become more removed from the decision-making apparatus, which creates a sense of powerlessness in the workplace. Powerlessness may increase stress by alienating workers from both their work and their organization. The workers may feel that they make no contribution to decisions on policy issues that have an effect on their worklife and may feel that the administration cares very little about their suggestions. Powerlessness may thus result in a combination of feelings of alienation and neglect, leading workers to question their involvement in the organization (Brief, et al., 1981; French and Caplan, 1972; Kahn et al., 1964). This may lead to a high level of reported stress.

Power is multidimensional. Authority connotes whether an actor has the final say in the decision-making process. One must distinguish between how much formal authority workers have in the decision-making process, and their reported level of decisional deprivation, the difference between the amount of influence employees believe they should have and the amount they report having.

Influence is broader in scope than authority because it connotes informal power (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980). Decisional deprivation, measured in terms of influence in decision-making, has broader scope than the authority measure. Lower echelon workers may be denied formal authority by virtue of their position in the organizational hierarchy; nonetheless they may still have the sense that they should have influence over certain kinds of decisions in the organization.

Hypothesis 6: In organizations in which the reported level of total authority is lower, the reported level of stress will be higher.

Hypothesis 7: In organizations in which the reported level of decisional deprivation is higher, the level of reported stress will be higher.

In regards to the hypotheses on power, the reverse arguments could also be made. It may be the case that certain workers view participation as a burden and therefore what we conceive as power becomes stress-inducing rather than stress-reducing.

To measure authority and decisional deprivation, we asked respondents to indicate which of the following areas they have authority and influence over. Also, they were asked to specify over which areas they felt they should have influence over.

1. Transportation
2. Student scheduling
3. Facilities planning
4. Integration/segregation
5. Budget development
6. Expenditure priorities
7. Cash flow/borrowing
8. Negotiations with professional staff
9. Negotiations with non-instructional staff
10. Contract implementation
11. Employee strikes/grievances
12. Staff hiring
13. Personnel evaluation

14. Student discipline
15. Standardized testing
16. Grading
17. Student rights
18. Program analysis/evaluation
19. What to teach
20. How to teach
21. What books to use
22. Special programs
23. Community relations

The measure of teachers' authority was computed as the sum of the responses (1 = feels that he/she has authority, 0 = does not feel that he/she has authority).

The second measure employed in this model, decisional deprivation, was computed as the difference between the total influence teachers felt they should have over the twenty-three issue areas and the total influence they believed they actually had over the same issues.

Communication

The communications network within an organization may play a critical role in the reduction of stress. This operates on two levels. First, communication may provide the worker with needed information, reducing levels of uncertainty. Second, by establishing contacts within the organization, the worker becomes a part of a network of social support (Cobb, 1976).

In dealing with stress, it is critical to differentiate between communication with superiors and communication with peers (Brief et. al., 1981). Communication with superiors may provide subordinates with critical information and instructions, while at the same time personalizing the supervisor-subordinate relationship, thereby reducing stress. On the other hand, it is plausible that communication with superiors will be viewed by subordinates as a mode of control, making the subordinates more guarded, thereby increasing the level of reported stress. Basing an hypothesis on the former assumption, we would predict that:

> Hypothesis 8: In organizations in which the level of communication with superiors is higher, the level of reported stress will be lower.

Building this eighth hypothesis on the first assumption is especially appropriate in schools, where the immediate superiors are most often colleagues; they have come from the ranks of the teachers, and may indeed be viewed as peers.

Communication with immediate peers may be an informal source of information for workers, while at the same time being an explicit source of social support. Thus:

> Hypothesis 9: In organizations in which the level of reported communication with peers is higher, the level of reported stress will be lower.

The patterns of communication were measured by asking respondents to indicate how often they interact directly or indirectly with various people or groups of people in a typical month. The first variable represents the response with respect to direct and indirect contacts with teachers, while the second variable, contacts with supervisors, was constructed by adding the total contacts with principals and the total contacts with department heads. It should be noted that on the elementary level of analysis, grade supervisors or grade chairpersons were deemed equivalent to the secondary school department heads.

Career Development

The perception of the career path may be viewed as a source of stress on the job (Brief, et al., 1981). To the extent that career development factors are indicative of the future status within the organization, or expected rewards, this could indeed have a profound effect upon the level of stress. Of special importance is the certainty with which workers view their career pattern in the organization. We assume that in organizations in which employees are certain about their career opportunities, the average level of reported stress will be lower.

We view career development in terms of promotion. Specifically, two measures are employed: The perceived certainty of promotional opportunity, and the perceived rationality of the promotion process itself.

> Hypothesis 10: In organizations in which respondents were more certain about the opportunity for promotion, and in organizations in which respondents view the promotion process as more rational, the level of reported stress will be lower.

In measuring the two variables employed in this model, we asked respondents the following questions:

1. How certain are you of the opportunities for promotion and advancement which will exist in the next four years? (1 = very uncertain, 4 = very certain)
2. To what degree do you think that promotion in this school is basically a rational process? (1 = not at all, 5 = a great deal)

Classroom Environment

The immediate work environment is critical in understanding the degree to which stress is encountered. With respect to teachers, three variables seem especially important: the degree to which the teacher sees the class size as too large, the degree to which the teacher perceives the students as capable and willing to learn, and the teacher's perception of student behavior.

The perception of the class size as too large implies that the teacher feels that the work environment is not conducive to the proper performance of his or her primary work activities. That is, the administrative and supervisory duties involved in conducting large classes may be such that it will increase the level of teachers' perceived stress.

Hypothesis 11: In organizations in which the perception of the class size as being too large is higher, the average level of reported stress will be higher.

Student achievement is reflective of teacher goals and teacher ability. Students who succeed in their schoolwork become symbols of teacher goal achievement and teaching quality. If teachers believe that their students are unwilling or incapable of learning they may be in a stressful position.

Hypothesis 12: In organizations in which teachers perceive students' learning as poorer, the average level of reported stress will be higher.

Student behavior is the most noted predictor of teacher stress. It has generally been assumed that unruly students produce an environment that is stressful to teachers.

Hvpothesis 13: In organizations in which the teacher's perception of negative student behavior is higher the level of reported stress will be higher.

The first variable included in the model was the response to the following question:

Based on your experience as a teacher in this school, please indicate how true the following statement is:

My classes are too large.

[1 = definitely true, 4 = definitely false]

The variable, perception of student learning, had six component questions:

1. My students are highly motivated.
2. My students are quite intelligent.
3. Parents see that students do their homework.

   The above are coded 1 = definitely false, 4 = definitely true.
4. My students do not have sufficient background knowledge for my classes.
5. There are always one or two students who hold back the rest of the class.
6. No matter what I do, there are always some who seem to learn nothing.

   The above are coded 1 = definitely true, 4 = definitely false.

The last variable, perception of student behavior, was coded on the same scale and included the responses to the following survey items.

1. My students are often abnormally unruly.
2. I have to worry about being physically confronted by my students.
3. My classroom and the school are objects of vandalism.
4. Students use drugs and alcohol while in school.

Insert Table 2 about here

Table 3 presents the results of the correlation and regression analysis for each of the models to be discussed below. Insofar as we are concerned with isolating the strongest predictor(s) of stress in these models, we will emphasize the regression analysis in our discussion.

Insert Table 3 about here

Model I: Staffing and Enrollment

The first hypothesis, concerning enrollment, is only partially sustained for elementary schools, while it is wholly unsupported for secondary schools. For neither elementary nor secondary schools does enrollment have a statistically significant effect on our measures of reported stress.

The student/teacher ratio appears to be an important predictor of stress in elementary schools, yet it fails to emerge as a significant predictor in the secondary schools. Model I in Table 3 shows the relationship between the student/teacher racio and the various stress scales. The relationships are significant in both the regression and correlation analyses for elementary schools (beta = .47 for psychological stress, beta = .32 for physiological stress).

These findings imply that size, by itself, is not a predictor of stress. When size is measured in terms of the student/teacher ratio however it does emerge as a significant predictor on the elementary but not the secondary level. There may be good reason to take note of the distinction between the stress stimulus effect on the elementary level versus the secondary level. As alluded to in the introductory portions of this paper, the differences in the organizational realities in the secondary and elementary schools may be important in the consideration of stress, especially with respect to job redesign and the development of coping mechanisms.

Consider the finding of the effect of student/teacher ratio on stress in the context of the different demands in the two types of organizations. In secondary schools, the teacher's primary responsibility is to teach a particular subject matter to several groups of students over several limited intervals of time. In elementary schools, the teacher is called upon to teach numerous subjects over longer intervals generally involving extended periods of contact with the same group of students. The nature of secondary education allows the teacher to present material in a relatively programmed fashion, especially in the context of the New York State Regents curriculum. The primary concern of the secondary school teacher is with the material. The primary concern of the elementary school teacher is with the student. For elementary school teachers, each additional student makes it more difficult to achieve their basic goal: to teach a broad range of subjects,to impart social values, to keep discipline over relatively long periods of time, etc. For secondary school teachers, whether one lectures to fifteen or twenty students may make little difference in the level of stress. It should be noted that in this discussion, we have treated student behavior as a constant. We shall return to this variable later to see how it modifies this argument.

Again, the difference between the organizational realities of elementary and secondary schools is significant when considering the effect of teaching support on stress. For elementary schools, our hypothesis that the higher the ratio of teaching support the lower the reported stress is totally unsupported. On both stress scales, the regression and correlation coefficients are significant and positive, indicating that the alternative hypothesis is supported (beta = .28 for psychological, and beta = .30 for physiological stress). This would imply that, on the elementary level, the burden of supervising teaching assistants outweighs the beneficial effect of their support.

On the other hand, in secondary schools the relationships are negative with regards to the ratio of teaching support and stress. Although the only significant relationship emerges with self-reported psychological stress (beta = -.30), this finding is worth noting. Apparently the burden of supervision does not enter into the secondary school relationship in the same way as it did in the elementary school analysis: the higher the ratio of teaching support, the lower the reported level of stress.

Model II: Supervision

In elementary schools, both positive and negative supervisory behavior show a significant relationship to physiological stress (beta = -.39 and beta = .26 respectively). It should be noted that neither of the supervision measures appears to be a significant predictor of psychological stress as reported by elementary school teachers.

Examining the model for secondary schools, for psychological stress, positive supervision appears to be the more significant predictor (beta = -.46 for positive supervision, beta = .22 for negative supervision). For physiological stress, both positive supervision (beta = -.34) and negative supervision (beta = .28) remain significant in the regression equation. Apparently both appreciation and critical orientation are important in accounting for the level of reported stress by teachers. Although it may appear that secondary school teachers are more sensitive to supervisory behavior patterns than elementary school teachers, it may be the case that the underlying structural differences between supervisory processes in elementary and secondary schools account for some of the variance. There is a much more defined supervisory structure in secondary schools, making the source of criticism or support more specific. The specificity of criticism or support may increase the influence on teacher stress on supervisory behavior, thus accounting for the overarching importance of all forms of supervisory behavior on the secondary level.

Model III: Work Process

Model III in Table III presents the data regarding our fifth hypothesis. For both the elementary and secondary school levels, role ambiguity is a significant correlate and predictor of both dimensions of stress. The implication is that the more uncertainty teachers must deal with regarding their role, the more likely they are to report specific stress symptoms. The role ambiguity argument is based upon the notion of uncertain expectations in regards to work activities. Uncertain expectations are seen as undesireable and are therefore stress inducing.

In discussing hypothesis five, recall that we offered a reverse logic: too much certainty may be alienating due to the mundaneness of the work activity and thereby result in stress. Some weak evidence in this regard is found when examining routinization. Routinization is a significant correlate of both forms of stress, for both elementary and secondary school levels, with the exception of the relationship between psychological stress and routinization on the elementary school level. When routinization is entered into the same regression model as role ambiguity, its significance on the secondary level is restricted to physiological stress (beta = .26). On the elementary level, routinization remains significant again with respect to physiological stress (beta = .23).

Routinization appears to manifest itself in physiological reports of stress. That is, a high level of routinization appears to lead to a more physically taxing work experience. However, because of the slight impact on the psychological dimension of stress, it is difficult to draw a conclusion regarding the alienating effect of routinization.

Model IV: Participation in Decision-Making

Model IV in Table III presents the results of the model concerning stress and the participation in decision-making. Our sixth hypothesis stated that the lower the level of total authority, the greater the level of reported stress. Implied here is that powerlessness is conducive to increased reports of stress symptoms. However, recalling that authority was presented as the formal dimension of power in the decision making process, it is not surprising that no significant relationships emerged. Teachers, as lower echelon employees, probably do not expect to have the final say over decisions in the workplace, and therefore the absence of that power does not emerge as stress-inducing.

As we argued in the hypothesis section, lower echelon personnel may be denied formal authority by virtue of their position in the formal hierarchy, but they may still have the sense that they deserve influence over particular areas. Hence, decisional deprivation, measured in terms of influence over decision-making, may have a greater effect on reported stress. We do, in fact, find that decisional deprivation has a strong effect on measures of stress on the elementary school level, but less of an effect on stress on the secondary school level. On the elementary school level, decisional deprivation is a strong correlate of both measures of stress. When entered into a model with authority, it remains significant (beta = .51 for psychological stress, beta = .58 for physiological stress). On the secondary level, the only strong relationship emerges in regards to reported symptoms of psychological stress (beta = .30).

The differences in results between elementary and secondary schools are consistent with our conception of the differences between the two school organizations. In elementary schools, teachers probably feel that they should have more influence over their work environment since they are responsible for a single group of students and a particular classroom setting. In secondary schools, teachers are also less likely to be deprived of a forum for voicing influences; there are regular faculty meetings on departmental levels, and an apparatus exists for subject teachers to have a direct influence over the conduct of work in their particular departments. This is not necessarily so in the elementary grades. To summarize: in elementary schools, teachers may feel that they deserve a greater influence over their work. They also may not have available to them immediate forums in which to voice their influence. Both of these factors exacerbate the problem of decisional deprivation and hence may be stress inducing.

Model V: Patterns of Interaction

Our eighth hypothesis maintained that the greater the number of reported contacts between supervisors and teachers, the lower the level of reported stress. Most of the relationships in Model V are negative, and the only significant relationships emerge on the elementary school level, where contacts with supervisors are significantly related to both measures of stress. For secondary schools, a strong pattern does not emerge.

Our ninth hypothesis maintained that in organizations in which teachers reported higher levels of contact with other teachers the level of reported stress would be lower. On the elementary school level, we find no significant correlations, and on the secondary school level we find only one weak correlation, that between contacts with peers and psychological stress.

When both independent variables, i.e., contact with supervisors and contact with fellow teachers, are entered into the same model, only the measure of contact with supervisors in elementary schools is a consistent predictor of stress, thus confirming the eighth hypothesis on this level (beta = -.26 for psychological stress and beta = -.40 for physiological stress).

Model VI: Career Development

The tenth hypothesis states that the greater the certainty about the opportunity for promotion and the more rational the view of the promotion process, the lower the reported stress. The zero-order correlations for elementary and secondary schools support the hypothesis. What is interesting is what occurs when the perception of the certainty of opportunity for promotion and the rationality of promotion are entered into the same regression model. For elementary schools, rationality of promotion is the predominant predictor for modes of stress (beta = -.65 for psychological stress, beta = -.62 for physiological stress). For the secondary school level it is also the rationality of promotion rather than the certainty of opportunity for promotion that is the primary predictor (beta = -.59 for psychological stress, beta = -.50 for physiological stress).

Apparently teachers' primary concern in both elementary and secondary organizations is the rationality of the promotion process itself rather than the perceived opportunity of promotion.

Model VII: Classroom Environment

The general pattern of correlations presented for the perception of class size and stress seem to support our hypothesis for both elementary and secondary schools. That is, for both levels, when teachers perceive the class size as being too large, they tend to report a high number of stress symptoms. Similar support is found in regards to student behavior. The zero-order correlations indicate that the more teachers perceive students as poorly behaved, the more stress symptoms teachers report. Again, parallel findings emerge with the zero-order correlations between student learning and stress symptoms. In elementary and secondary schools alike, all of the stress measures are negatively correlated with the teachers' positive view of student learning.

It is interesting to observe what occurs when all three variables are entered into the same regression model. In the elementary schools, the perception of class size emerges as the most consistent predictor (beta = -.40 for psychological stress, beta = -.34 for physiological stress). Student behavior remains significant only for symptoms of physiological stress (beta = -.26), as does student learning (beta = -.37). It is clear that although all three dimensions of classroom environment seem to affect the degree of physiological stress, the strongest predictor across categories for elementary schools is teachers' perception of class size.

In contrast, on the secondary level, the only significant betas emerge in regards to the relationship between the stress measures and student behavior (beta = -.27 for psychological stress, beta = -.32 for physiological stress). Although the correlations for perception of classroom size and student learning were significant, neither emerge as predictors when entered into regression models with the variable perception of student behavior.

The important point of contrast between elementary and secondary levels, then, is the emergence of the perception of classroom size as the primary predictor of stress symptoms on the elementary level, while the perception of student behavior emerges as the sole predictor on the secondary level. This finding directly reinforces our finding regarding student/teacher ratio, that for elementary schools the ratio emerged as an important predictor of stress symptoms, yet it failed to emerge in secondary schools. To explain the effect of the student/teacher ratio, we argued that elementary school teachers have a more encompassing educational responsibility for a single group of students over longer intervals of time than do secondary school teachers, and hence they are more sensitive to changes in class size. Secondary teachers, who have relatively limited contact with a varied number of students over shorter intervals of time would be less concerned with the size of the class. Instead, they are more concerned with the quality of student behavior, which they may view as an obstacle to their more focused goal, getting the subject material across to the class. For secondary school teachers, student behavior is either an asset or impediment to attaining their specific goal, whereas for elementary school teachers, student behavior is a goal that may be impeded by classroom size.

Integrative Models

Table 4 presents four integrated models predicting to each type of stress in each type of school. Each of the models represents the results of a stepwise procedure in which each of the previously significant ($p < .05$) variables was entered. Analysis was limited to the five independent variables which together explained the greatest amount of variance in the stress measure in question (i.e., maximum R^2). This is not to imply that other variables are not important; it is simply to place primary emphasis, at this stage of our analysis, on parsimony.

Table 4 includes findings regarding the dimensions of elementary school organizations which induce psychological stress. Rationality of the promotion process and the student/teacher ratio emerge as the strongest predictors of psychological stress (beta = -.40 and beta = .31). In elementary school organizations in which teachers reported that the promotion process was rational, teachers are less likely to experience stress. Likewise, in elementary school organizations with a low student/teacher ratio, the reported level of psychological stress is also likely to be low.

Insert Table 4 about here

In Table 4 we discover that in elementary schools the rationality of the promotion process is a strong predictor of physiological stress (beta = -.32), whereas the importance of the student/teacher ratio drops (beta = .16). Role ambiguity (beta = .31), perception of student learning (beta = -.28), and negative supervisory behavior (beta = .20) all remain significant predictors of physiological stress.

Psychological stress in secondary school organizations as presented in Table 4, is best predicted by role ambiguity (beta = .30), positive supervisory behavior (beta =-.39), and the teaching support ratio (beta = -.23). Physiological stress is best predicted by the perception of the rationality of the promotion process (beta =-.26) and perception of student behavior (beta = -.22).

These integrated models must be interpreted with caution. The statistical procedure used to generate them puts a premium on identifying variables which account for different portions of the variation in the dependent stress measures.

If two variables account for roughly the same part of the variation in stress, the procedure will overlook one of them and select another variable that accounts for a different part of the variation, even if that other variable accounts for less variation than the one rejected. (For example, perception of class size does not appear in either of our elementary models, presumably because student/teacher ratio accounts for roughly the same variation.) In any study which examines various dimensions of organizational structure and work processes, there will be relationships (perhaps even direct causal relationships) among the dimensions examined. Without a set of a priori hypotheses about what those relationships might be, we cannot conclude that the results of our stepwise procedures have identified the "most" important variables predicting to each type of stress in each type of school.

Nevertheless, these integrated models reaffirm two points which we have already made and allow us to make two further observations. First, there are distinct differences between our elementary and secondary school models, reaffirming our argument that stress is a function of different elements in the two organizational environments. Second, there are also distinct differences between models which focus on psychological stress and those which focus on physiological stress. Our original hypotheses did not posit what those differences might be, and for the most part we have resisted the temptation to offer post hoc explanations for them, but clearly, future research on the organizational determinants of stress will miss important phenomena if attention is confined to one or the other measure. Third, each of our four integrated models includes statistically significant variables from at least two of the seven separate models presented earlier. The only separate models which are not "represented" by a variable with statistical significance in at least one integrated model are those for participation in decision-making and communication; only the latter is not "represented" at all. Thus, no one dimension of organizational structure or work processes provides a sufficient explanation for the stressful effects an organization can have on its employees. Fourth, and most importantly, the four integrated models presented here account for half to two-thirds of the measured variation in stress across the schools covered by our study. Having controlled for individual teacher differences by aggregating both our independent and dependent measures to the level of the organization, there could hardly be more straight-forward evidence that organizational structures and work processes are, in fact, important determinants of stress.

Conclusion

In this paper we have presented only a preliminary analysis of organizational predictors of stress in elementary and secondary school organizations. Several important implications may be drawn from this work.

Stress may be conceptualized as arising from organizations, not simply from the idiosyncracies of individuals. Organizational work processes and structures have different effects on various measures of self-reported physiological and psychological stress. Furthermore, we have shown that the effect of organizational work processes and structures will have different effects on teacher stress depending upon whether we consider elementary school organizations or secondary school organizations.

The importance of this type of analysis lies in the implications for organizational and work design. By viewing stress as a product of the organization, we have placed the ability to alleviate stress as much with management as with the individual worker. Stress is an important measure of the quality of working life, and to the degree that management is responsible for the enhancement of the quality of the working life of the employee, management should assume responsibility for altering organizational structures and work processes in ways that are likely to limit the incidence of worker stress.

TABLE 1

Means, Ranges, and Standard Deviations of Stress Scales

Elementary School, n = 42

Variable	Mean	High	Low	Standard Deviation
Psychological Stress	1.476	1.920	1.160	.204
Physiological Stress	1.445	1.943	1.125	.179

Secondary School, n = 45

Variable	Mean	High	Low	Standard Deviation
Psychological Stress	1.495	2.025	1.200	.173
Physiological Stress	1.387	1.875	1.175	.139

TABLE 2

Variable	Organizational Level	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	high	low	Cronbach's alpha (where applicable)
*total enrollment	elementary	505.333	166.896	841.00	166.00	
	secondary	947.600	693.566	3784.00	199.00	
*student/teacher ratio	elementary	20.130	2.422	28.167	15.967	
	secondary	18.330	2.400	22.703	12.438	
*teaching support ratio	elementary	.137	.335	1.818	0.000	
	secondary	.024	.072	.313	0.000	
*administrative support ratio	elementary	.045	.031	.182	0.00	
	secondary	.404	.015	.074	0.00	
positive supervisory behavior	elementary	2.135	.315	2.933	1,200	.789
	secondary	2.141	.295	2.744	1.500	
negative supervisory behavior	elementary	1.137	.269	2.214	1.000	.630
	secondary	1.438	.297	2.33	1.020	
role ambiguity	elementary	2.400	.353	3.250	1.500	.729
	secondary	2.599	.381	3.472	1.924	
routinization	elementary	1.836	.211	2.286	1.250	.727
	secondary	2.028	.151	2.350	1.650	
teacher authority	elementary	3.818	1.127	6.500	1.875	
	secondary	3.195	1.035	5.500	.818	
decisional deprivation	elementary	5.244	1.863	8.333	1.750	
	secondary	4.891	1.601	9.867	1.318	
contacts with teachers	elementary	23.766	15.310	84.667	6.125	
	secondary	20.579	8.246	43.050	7.375	
contacts with supervisors	elementary	14.140	8.130	48.430	4.495	
	secondary	16.516	6.419	30.800	4.833	

Variable	Organizational Level	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	high	low	Cronbach's alpha (where applicable)
certainty of promotional opportunity	elementary	2.361	.510	4.000	1.400	
	secondary	2.443	.336	3.111	1.625	
rationality of promotion	elementary	2.725	.430	3.600	1.833	
	secondary	2.593	.423	3.412	1.429	
perception of class size as too large	elementary	2.636	.410	3.500	1.714	
	secondary	2.859	.308	3.667	2.130	
perception of student learning	elementary	2.486	.275	3.056	2.010	.662
	secondary	2.248	.189	2.821	1.818	
perception of student behavior	elementary	3.508	.201	3.875	3.100	.564
	secondary	2.917	.220	3.517	2.500	

* These variables were supplied by the State Department of Education

N = 42 elementary schools

N = 45 secondary schools

TABLE 3

	Dependent Variables							
	Elementary Schools (N = 42)				Secondary Schools (N = 45)			
	Psychological stress		Physiological stress		Psychological stress		Physiological stress	
Independent Variables	r	beta	r	beta	r	beta	r	beta
Model I:								
student/teacher ratio	.49***	.47***	.31**	.32***	-.08	-.11	-.04	-.11
ratio of teaching support	.31**	.28**	.37***	.30**	-.28**	-.30**	-.20*	-.21
ratio of administrative support	.09	-.05	.17	.13	-.07	-.02	-.14	-.09
enrollment	-.23*	-.11	-.04	.13	-.11	-.04	.02	.07
Model II:								
positive supervisory behavior	-.19	-.12	-.48***	-.39***	-.58***	-.46***	-.49***	-.34**
negative supervisory behavior	.24*	.20	.39***	.26**	.47***	.22*	.47***	.28**

Independent Variables	Elementary Schools				Secondary Schools			
	Psychological stress		Physiological stress		Psychological stress		Physiological stress	
	r	beta	r	beta	r	beta	r	beta
Model III:								
routinization	.06	.07	.23*	.23**	.36***	.09	.46***	.26**
role ambiguity	.58***	.58***	.64***	.65***	.61***	.57***	.57***	.46***
Model IV:								
teacher authority	.06	.18	.01	.15	-.24*	-.13	-.17	-.11
decisional deprivation	.47***	.[illegible]***	.55***	.58***	.35***	.30**	.20*	.17
Model V:								
contacts with teachers	.03	.10	-.12	-.01	-.30**	-.21	-.12	-.14
contacts with supervisors	-.23	-.26*	-.40***	-.40***	-.28**	-.16	-.05	.04
Model VI:								
certainty of promotional opportunity	-.36***	-.02	-.36***	-.04	-.23*	.06	-.32**	-.07
rationality or promotion	-.66***	-.65***	-.64***	-.62***	-.56***	-.59***	-.54***	-.50***

Independent Variables	Elementary Schools				Secondary Schools			
	Psychological stress		Physiological stress		Psychological stress		Physiological stress	
	r	beta	r	beta	r	beta	r	beta
Model VII:								
perception of class size as being too large	-.43***	-.40***	-.39***	-.34***	-.26**	-.19	-.24*	-.15
perception of student behavior	-.32**	-.20	-.42***	-.26**	-.40***	-.27**	-.44***	-.32***
perception of student learning	-.29**	-.20	-.47***	-.37***	-.34***	-.23	-.35***	-.22

*p ≤ .10
**p ≤ .05
***p ≤ .01

TABLE 4

Variables Entering Into Regression Models

Dependent Variable		Independent Variables

Psychological Stress (elementary schools)	=	rationality of promotion process (beta = -.40***);
		student/teacher ratio (beta = .31***);
		decisional deprivation (beta = .17);
		role ambiguity (beta = .15);
		teaching support ratio (beta = .07).
		$R^2 = .61$

Physiological Stress (elementary schools)	=	role ambiguity (beta = .31***);
		rationality of promotion process (beta = -.32***);
		perception of student learning (beta = -.28***);
		negative supervisory behavior (beta = .20***);
		student/teacher ratio (beta = .16*).
		$R^2 = .66$

Psychological Stress (secondary schools)	=	role ambiguity (beta = .30***);
		positive supervisory behavior (beta = -.39***);
		ratio of teaching support (beta = -.23***);
		decisional deprivation (beta = .16);
		perception of student behavior (beta = -.11).
		$R^2 = .57$

Physiological Stress (secondary schools)	=	role ambiguity (beta = .19);
		rationality of promotion process (beta =-.26**);
		perception of student behavior (beta = -.22*);
		routinization (beta = .14);
		positive supervisory behavior (beta = -.13).
		$R^2 = .47$

N = 42 elementary schools
N = 45 secondary schools
* $p < .10$
** $p < .05$
*** $p < .01$

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Labor Relations in School Systems:

Attitudes Toward Teachers Unions Across School District Hierarchies[1]

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If one were to ask educational practitioners what forces have had a significant impact on public education in the last decade, the growth of teachers unions would be likely to emerge near the top of the list. Since the advent of teacher unionization in New York City in the late sixties, teachers unions have spread to encompass urban, suburban, and rural districts in a majority of states. Early research sought to identify those factors which predisposed teachers to militancy, isolating such items as age, sex, and type of school taught in.[2] Once unions became established, research efforts shifted to concentrate on the gains accruing to teachers from unions. These studies showed small economic benefits,[3] some improvement in working conditions,[4] and more recently, the attainment of influence over professional issues.[5] There can be no doubt that these gains affect not only teachers, but all school personnel. Yet surprisingly little attention has been paid to how teachers and other school personnel perceive this impact and their attitudes toward teachers unions.

The attitudes of school personnel toward teachers unions will be determined, in part, by the affect that teachers unions have on the performance of a person's job. To the degree that the teachers union makes a person's job easier, we would expect that person to have positive attitudes regarding the union. We would also expect a person to resist union involvement in those areas which would adversely affect their job performance. Two things follow from this line of argument. First, one's position in the school district hierarchy and the differing demands which result should determine, in part, one's attitudes toward the teachers union. In other words, teachers, principals, superintendents, and school boards should have different attitudes toward teachers unions. These differences in attitudes are likely to be a major source of conflict over union related matters. Second, these differences in attitude should reflect the impact of teachers unions on the different roles. Thus by examining the attitudes of assorted school district personnel, we will be able to gain a preliminary understanding of the affect of teachers unions on the entire school system. At a time when both public education and public employee unions are the subject of so much media scrutiny, it seems imperative that we begin to examine the attitudes of school district personnel toward teachers unions. In this article, we would like to report briefly on the results of such an investigation.

The Research

As part of a project investigating power and consensus in school districts, a survey was distributed to a random sample of 83 school districts in New York State, stratified according to geographic location, size, wealth, and expenditures. In each district, the superintendent, central office administrators, school board members, teachers in the largest elementary school and largest high school, and the principals of those schools received questionnaires. Included in the survey were a series of items dealing with the teachers union in the district. These questions focused on what areas the union should be involved in, the degree of satisfaction with the local, and the state of labor management relations in the district. The data reported here are based on responses to these items obtained from teachers, principals, superintendents, and school board members.

Teachers

For teachers, the union provides a collective voice which serves as a source of power far beyond that available to individual teachers. Unions have flourished precisely because of the inability of individual teachers to influence their salaries or working conditions. Unions have provided teachers with that influence and as such we would expect them to be satisfied with their local union. The data bear this out - just under 90% of the teachers responding are either very satisfied or satisfied with their local union. Presumably teachers feel the union is helping them to do a better job.

If the union provides teachers with a source of influence, and the outcomes of this influence serve as the primary basis of satisfaction, the question arises as to where teachers would like this influence applied in the future. Respondents were presented with a list of 15 areas and 6 asked whether they would like their union to become less involved (scored 1), maintain the current level of involvement (scored 3), or become more involved (scored 5) in each area. A number of the results are worth noting. First, there are no areas in which the teachers want their union to become less involved. A majority of members would like the union to maintain their current level of involvement in many areas - prep time, leaves, tuition reimbursements, grievance handling, communicating to members, and giving members a say in the union. Yet on the average, teachers want more involvement in all areas. Areas which are of particular importance to teachers are: insurance, where over 60% of teachers desire more union involvement; obtaining a say in the administration, just under 60%; extra-duty compensation, 58.7%; class size, 56.1%; student discipline and student rights, 54.4%; and salary, 53.8%. In addition, more teachers desire increased involvement in evaluation than want the union to maintain their current level of involvement (48.2% versus 47.4%). If the local unions are responsive to the demands of their constituencies, it appears that they will continue to press for both economic benefits and a say over the determination of working conditions.

The strength of the union and its ability to meet the desires of its members depends upon the support of individual teachers. In many districts, this support is most apparent in times of crisis, with a small group of officers left to carry out the day-to-day administration of the union at other times. This is reflected in our results, where over 91% of our sample were members of the union and maintained some level of involvement in the local (with over 88% voting in union elections and 84% attending some union meetings), while just under 64% of our respondents felt that the administration of the local was handled by a small group of teachers with the majority of teachers just going along. Most teachers are satisfied with this arrangement, since only 35.5% desire more say in the union. In some instances, the strain of holding down what is essentially two jobs, combined with the generally low level of member involvement, hinders the development of adequate communication between the local and its members. Many teachers (46.5%) rely on their fellow teachers as their primary source of information on union matters, and 44% want the union to improve its communication to its members.

Despite some apparent apathy, teachers do want the union to press for their demands against the administration. In this confrontation, there is no question of who has the most power. When asked who has more power, the administration (scored 1) or the union (scored 7), the average response was 2.49, indicating a balance of power in favor of the administration. Perhaps this difference in power explains why over 52% of the teachers feel the administration has a favorable attitude toward the union, while only 45% of the teachers feel the union has a favorable attitude toward the administration. The union is in the unenviable position of having to gain concessions from an administration which has more power than the union, and in that position, it's hard to adopt a favorable attitude. Despite this, just under 68% of our respondents are satisfied with the labor management relations in their district. Teachers unions have been successful and their members recognize this. They just want the success to continue.

Principals

Principals are often depicted as the person caught in the middle. They are usually given free rein over their buildings and expected to handle any problems their staff may have. Further, many are recently out of the ranks of teachers themselves (indeed, over 62% of our respondents were members of teachers unions), and these two elements combine to create some sense of sympathy for teachers needs. Still, principals are administrators and ultimately must answer to the central administration. Thus the image of the principal as caught in the middle. The data from our principal questionnaires support and reflect the dilemma confronting the principal.

The principals responses to the series of questions on union involvement, while reflecting an administrative position, are on the average closer to the teachers scores than either the superintendent or the school board scores. Of the fifteen areas included in our questions, the majority of principals would like to maintain the current level of union involvement in all fifteen areas. The average scores, however, show six areas in which principals would agree to more union involvement: salary, insurance, extra-duty compensation, student discipline and student rights, giving members a say in the union, and improving communication to members. These averages indicate a sympathy for the economic plight of teachers, a concern with the common goal of educating students, and a desire for the union to be more representative (66% of the principals consider the union as dominated by a small group. Ironically, however, the average scores show that principals view the union as more representative than teachers do). The principals sympathy for teachers also appears in responses to the question on administrative attitudes toward the union, where 75% of our respondents view the administration attitude toward the union as favorable, the highest percentage of any group. Average scores for the remaining areas reflect a desire for less union involvement. In comparison to teacher responses, the principals show the most pronounced differences in regards to class size, prep time, non-teaching duties, and gaining a say in the administration of the district. These are all areas in which teachers desire more involvement, while principals want less union involvement. Not surprisingly, these are all areas which directly impact on the principal's ability to run his school. If the union were to increase its involvement in these areas, the principal would be placed under additional constraints in the performance of his or her job.

The idea that the union places constraints on the principal, constraints which the principal would just as soon not have to deal with, receives support from responses to other questions. For example, on the average, although the administration maintains an edge, principals see the union as having more power than any of the other groups who responded to our surveys. This suggests that unions do indeed constrain principals behavior. Yet the union as an entity is something principals try to avoid dealing with. They prefer to distribute information on union affairs directly to their staff rather than through the union, while their primary sources of information are either their teachers (41.8%) or the administration (46.9%). These figures reflect the dilemma confronting principals. They want to work with their staff and are therefore sympathetic to teachers demands, but they also are administrators who feel unduly constrained by the presence of the union. One gets the feeling that principals wish the union would either go away or deal with the central administration. As a result, principals are less satisfied with the local than are teachers, but more satisfied with labor management relations.

Superintendents

As administrator for the district and by law the person who contracts with the union, superintendents often find themselves in a peculiar love-hate relationship with their local teachers union. On the one hand, the demands by unions are a major constraint on administrative behavior and a significant factor in terms of the school budget. On the other hand, as is recognized in collective bargaining, the presence of a union provides the administration with a single party with which to work out agreements. Once an agreement is reached, the administration obtains a certain degree of predictability for the duration of the contract.

This ambivalence is reflected in our survey results. When asked about the desired level of union involvement in different areas, the majority of superintendents indicated that in eleven of the fifteen areas, the union should maintain their current level of involvement. Two areas in which the majority of superintendents want less union involvement are class size (50%) and gaining a say in the administration of the district (47.8%). In addition, when one looks at the average scores, superintendents also want less union involvement in extra-duty compensation, prep time, non-teaching duties, leaves, tuition reimbursement, evaluation, gaining a say in how teachers do their jobs, and grievance handling. Generally, there are areas in which union involvement reduces administrative discretion and ultimately increases school district costs. The fact that the average scores for union involvement in salary and insurance show a small desire for more involvement suggests that it is the constraints on administrative behavior which superintendents want to eliminate, even if they have to buy the union out. Compared to the principals, however, the superintendents show a stronger desire to reduce constraints on their behavior and less of a willingness to pay for it. As chief administrators, superintendents apparently feel more than principals both the constraints and the costs imposed by the union.

The two areas in which the majority of superintendents want more union involvement are providing members a say in the union (58.7%) and improving communication to members (47.9%). If the union were to become more involved in these areas, superintendents could be sure that in dealing with the union, they are dealing with their entire staff. Although the majority of superintendents (63%) feel the union is run by a few active people, on the average the superintendents consider the union as more representative of the teachers than any of the other groups responding to our survey. As noted earlier, insofar as the union is representative, it eases the superintendents job by providing him a single body with which to work out agreements. Indeed, over 60% of the superintendents receive information on union matters primarily from the union (although they distribute information through the union, the administration, and directly to personnel). The fact that over 80% of the superintendents are satisfied with the local, while over 91% are satisfied with the labor management relations in their district (with both of these on the average showing more satisfaction than any other group responding) reinforces this interpretation. The superintendents see their relationship with the union as generally cooperative (71.7% consider the administration's attitude as favorable and 73.9% consider the union's attitude as favorable), and one in which the administration has more power than the union. The question is whether superintendents can use this power to reduce the constraints on their behavior and still maintain a cooperative relationship.

School Boards

School boards are the policy making bodies in school districts. They are the community's representatives, charged with insuring that the schools provide the best possible education, usually at the lowest cost possible. We can expect the board to consider the union as an adversary which infringes both on their ability to make policy and economize school district operations. The board's lack of sympathy with the union is accentuated by it's lack of contact with the union - over 80% of the board members report that the administration serves as its primary source of information on union matters. Since the administration will have occasion to report to the board primarily on union demands, it follows that this would add to the natural antagonism between the board and the local teachers union.

The results of our survey reflect this antagonism. Although a majority of the board respondents are satisfied with the local union (60.4%), on the average, among our respondents the board is the group least satisfied with the local. They are also second only to the teachers in terms of their average dissatisfaction with the labor management relations in their district and in their perception of the unfavorableness of both the unions attitude toward the administration and the administration's attitude toward the union. Board members also consider the union as having more power than any other group of respondents except the principals. Thus despite the fact that a majority of board members are satisfied with the local and labor management relations, there is an underlying current of antagonism which reflects the generally adversarial nature of the relationship between the school board and the teachers union.

The nature of this opposition can be seen by considering the boards responses to our questions on desired level of union involvement in different areas. The majority of board membess would like the union to maintain its desired level of involvement in six of the fifteen areas listed in our survey. Of the remaining nine areas, the majority of board members would like the union to decrease its involvement in class size, non-teaching duties, and gaining a say in how the administration runs the district. Board members are split on union involvement in both leaves, where 48.4% wanting less involvement and 48.8% say to maintain the current level of involvement, and evaluation, where 36.7% want less involvement, 34.3% say to maintain the current level, and 29.2% want more involvement. On the average, board members want less union involvement in twelve of the fifteen areas. Only student discipline and student rights, giving members a say in the running of the union, and improving communication to union members emerge as areas in which the majority of school board members would like to see more union involvement. In general, these results reflect the board's desire to maintain its policy making authority and to reduce school costs. They also reflect the close ties between the board and the administration. Only the board's desire to see more involvement in student discipline and student rights comes as a surprise, since this position runs counter to the superintendent's desires. It is congruent, however, with the board's concern with the quality of the educational program and its role as representatives of the community.

The State of Labor Relations in School Districts

The emergence of teachers unions and the economic and work related benefits they have been able to obtain for teachers have had a profound affect on public education. Understandly, the consequences of this effect and the attitudes of school personnel toward teachers unions vary across school district hierarchies. Unions have provided teachers with a source of collective influence unavailable to the individual teacher. Teachers have improved their economic well being, while also improving the conditions in which they work. They desire more of the same, and consider the union, with its adversarial stance, the sole vehicle by which to achieve further gains. Not surprisingly, they are generally satisfied with their local. Principals, however, are a different story.

Stuck in the middle between teachers and the central administration, they are sympathetic to many of the teachers' economic demands, yet feel unduly constrained by many of the work related benefits teachers have obtained. They see the union as a power disrupting their ability to run their schools, an annoyance which they wish the central office would take care of. And the superintendents would like to be able to take care of the union. Superintendents are even more strongly opposed to the unions involvement in work related areas than principals are, and are not as sympathetic to teachers economic demands. They do welcome the union's presence, however, since it provides them a vehicle through which they can deal with their entire teaching staff at once. It also provides a certain degree of predictability to what is often an unpredictable job. Because of this, superintendent's are very satisfied with the union and labor management relations. The sense of antagonism and opposition apparent in the teachers is mirrored in the school board, only as would be expected, board members want the union to decrease its level of involvement in most all areas. The board's dissatisfaction with labor management relations is close to the teachers. The board considers the union as a constraint on their ability to both develop policy and run the school in an economical manner. Thus there is a gradual shift in attitudes towards the union as one moves up the school district hierarchy, with the attitudes held reflecting the degree to which the union has helped or hindered one's ability to perform on the job.

These differences in attitudes have direct consequences on the conduct of labor management relations. The more extreme the differences regarding union involvement in a specific area, the greater the likelihood of conflict over that issue. Similarly, the less the difference, the greater the probability of being able to engage in cooperative relations in that area. Based on our results, we anticipate that teachers unions are likely to continue to press for further economic benefits, while also seeking more influence over both their work conditions and the administration of the district. They will meet resistance in all three of these areas, particularly over the issues of class size, extra-duty compensation, and gaining a say in the administration of the district. Indeed, given the strong feelings of the administration and school board on these matters, we would not be surprised to see management attempt to cut back on the inroads teachers unions have already made in these areas in an effort to regain control of what they consider management prerogatives. Thus we expect these issues to a source of conflict in school districts in the near future.

Several things may help to alleviate this conflict. First, it may be that management may decide to buy back some of these rights, and teachers may agree to accept. Although tightened budgets make this unlikely, if the administration feels that the discretion they regain will allow them more leeway in monetary matters, this scenario could occur. The possibility of bargaining and tradeoffs seems most likely over those issues in which there is moderate disagreement such as evaluation, tuition reimbursements, or leaves. Bargaining over any issues would be enhanced if agreement was first reached on some items. One area where this appears possible is student discipline and student rights. Here, the teachers may find themselves alligned with the board against the superintendent and principals. This combination would probably produce an agreement which would enable bargaining to proceed to other areas with a cooperative attitude. The unions ability to negotiate would also be enhanced if it were to make some visible efforts to provide members more say in the running of the union and to improve communication to its members. These are both areas in which the administration wanted to see more union involvement, and if the union were to take some steps in that direction, the administration may adopt a more positive attitude toward negotiations.

There are recognizable differences in attitudes towards teachers unions across school district hierarchies. These differences fuel the dynamics of labor relations in school systems. Identifying and dealing with them therefore becomes a critical component of successful labor relations. Hopefully our results provide a step in that direction.

Footnotes

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INTERPERSONAL VERSUS INTERGROUP BEHAVIOR: THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF DESIRED UNION INVOLVEMENT

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Abstract

Relying on a distinction between interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, this paper investigates the impact of interpersonal and intergroup characteristics on an individual's decision to rely on collective action. Four dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior are presented (i.e., social mobility versus social change, personal versus group deprivation, self identity versus group identity, and variety versus uniformity), and along with perceived legitimacy, are used to predict to elementary and secondary school teachers desire to have the union become involved in compensation issues and issues of professional perogative. Results show the importance of both interpersonal and intergroup factors in deciding to rely on group action, particularly deprivation and identity. Differences between elementary and secondary school teachers, as well as differences between compensation issues and issues of professional perogative reinforce the importance of these distinctions. Suggestions are made for the continued development of the social psychology of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior.

It is generally assumed that workers turn to unions to redress dissatisfactions which they are unable to relieve through their individual efforts (e.g., Brett, 1980; Schutt, 1982). Two sources of dissatisfaction may be considered: economic dissatisfaction and work related dissatisfaction or incongruity (Schutt, 1982). Faced with these sources of dissatisfaction, unorganized workers may seek to organize, while already unionized workers may press their union to redress these issues or engage in militant action. In both cases, individuals decide to turn to a collectivity as a means of resolving their grievances. Although a number of studies have focused on the individual and positional attributes that may lead an individual to view collective action as a solution (e.g., Leggett,1968; Alutto and Belasco, 1976; Coles, 1969; Schutt, 1982), very little of this research has attended to the dramatic differences between individual action and collective action on which these decisions are based. The act of turning to a union to redress individual dissatisfaction represents a reframing of the problem from one of interpersonal behavior to one of intergroup behavior. From a social psychological viewpoint, this is a drastic alteration which occurs on several different dimensions (Tajfel, 1981). This paper examines these dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior in an effort to determine their relative impact on an individual's disposition to rely on union action.

The Dimensions of Interpersonal versus Intergroup Behavior

This paper is based on the assumption that the characteristics of interpersonal behavior are different than the characteristics of intergroup behavior. Further, we believe that is an error to extrapolate from data on interpersonal behavior to predictions of intergroup behavior without taking the specific characteristics of intergroup behavior into account. Insofar as an individual's decision to rely on union action represents a dismissal of individual or interpersonal behavior in favor of intergroup behavior, any thorough investigation of this type of decision should include both the characteristics of the interpersonal context and the characteristics of the intergroup context in which the decision is made as part of its analysis. To date, the majority of research on an individual's disposition to either join a union or turn to the union to resolve an issue has been primarily concerned with the interpersonal factors which lead a person to dismiss interpersonal behavior as a course of action. Less attention has been paid to the intergroup characteristics which may play an important part in this decision. The impact of both sets of characteristics on desired union involvement is the focus of the research reported here.

The need to consider interpersonal and intergroup characteristics involves a recognition of the importance of the social context in individual decision making (Tajfel, 1981; Argyle, Graham, Furnham, 1981). The characteristics of the social context lead an individual to categorize a problem as interpersonal or intergroup, a categorization which is intimately linked with the individual's sense of identity and the type of social comparisons he or she makes (Tajfel, 1981). Thus an individual who categorizes an issue as intergroup is likely to derive a sense of identity from the group and to compare his group to other groups, while an individual who categorizes an issue as interpersonal will rely on a private sense of identity and compare himself relative to other individuals. It is these social psychological processes of categorization, identity, and comparison that underlie the analysis presented here.

Tajfel and his colleagues (Tajfel, 1981) argue that interpersonal and intergroup behavior are opposite ends of a continuum. This continuum is related to a number of other continuua which are in essence dimensions of the general interpersonal versus intergroup continuum. The opposite ends of each of these dimensions depict the characteristics of the interpersonal and intergroup contexts which play a crucial role in the processes of categorization, identity, and comparison.

The first dimension is that of social mobility versus social change. All of the studies of union organizing or union militancy assume the existence of some dissatisfaction (a condition which will be covered in more detail shortly). The reduction of this dissatisfaction is the individual's goal, with collective action being only one possible alternative to achieve this goal. It is also possible for the individual to leave the position he currently occupies, thereby eliminating the source of dissatisfaction. In that case, individual social mobility - a form of interpersonal behavior - becomes an alternative means for dealing with dissatisfaction. The findings of Corwin (1965) and Schutt (1982) which show that lack of promotional opportunities is a significant predictor of union militancy suggest that it is the lack of individual social mobility which leads to the decision to rely on group action. In terms of the first dimension of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, group action represents social change, i.e., an effort to alter the current relationships between social groups. It seems likely that a given group's past success will determine, to a great degree, the perceived viability of this option (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981).

The dissatisfaction which leads to a desire for social mobility or social change is the focus of the second dimension of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior. Dissatisfaction is seen as resulting from a sense of deprivation which occurs when one's current status is compared to the status of another. The choice of a comparison other will depend upon whether one is concerned with interpersonal or intergroup behavior. This second dimension effectively runs from personal deprivation to group deprivation. Personal deprivation involves a comparison either with some other individual or with the expectations one had for oneself upon taking the job. Group deprivation, on the other hand, involves a comparison of one's social group with some other social group. To date, most of the empirical research on union action has been concerned with personal deprivation (e.g., Schutt, 1982). Although there has been a conceptual recognition of group deprivation (Brett, 1980), there is no empirical evidence demonstrating its impact on union activity.

Implicit in the notion of group deprivation is the existence of a sense of group identity. The process of social identity is critical to the study of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, and the distinction between self-identity versus group identity which serves as the third dimension of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior seeks to capture this process. In utilizing this dimension, we are trying to delineate the source of a person's identity in the workplace. On the one hand, a person may derive their identity on the job from their individual attachment to the job and the personal relationships they establish. In that case, we are dealing with interpersonal behavior and self identity. On the other hand, a person may gain a sense of identity from the social group in which they are involved. In that case, we are concerned with group identity. In terms of collective action, one of the most important things to realize is that a person usually has a number of potential social groups from which to derive a sense of identity. For example, work groups, interest groups, and coalitions may all serve as a source of group identity (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980). This means that alternative sources of group identity should be considered in any study of union activity.

The literature on union organizing and union militancy recognizes the importance of a cohesiveness in group action (Brett, 1980). The establishment of a group identity depends upon a sense of commonality among the members of the group. The final dimension of intergroup versus intergroup behavior deals with the variety versus uniformity of perceptions and opinions within the group. Of particular importance is the attitudes and behavior of group members in relation to the outgroup (Tajfel, 1981). At the interpersonal end of this dimension, a variety of attitudes and behavior among group members toward the outgroup will be in evidence. Alternatively, a uniformity of attitudes and behavior by group members toward the outgroup will be seen at the intergroup end of this dimension. This consistency is likely to include a high degree of stereotyping of the outgroup by ingroup members, stereotypes which are often used in emotional appeals to arouse group sentiments (Brett, 1980; Tajfel, 1981).

As noted above, the four dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior - social mobility versus social change, personal deprivation versus group deprivation, self identity versus group identity, and variety versus uniformity - are integral parts of the social psychological processes of categorization, identity, and comparison which underlie an individual's decision whether or not to rely on union action to resolve a problem. The general hypothesis guiding this paper may be stated as follows:

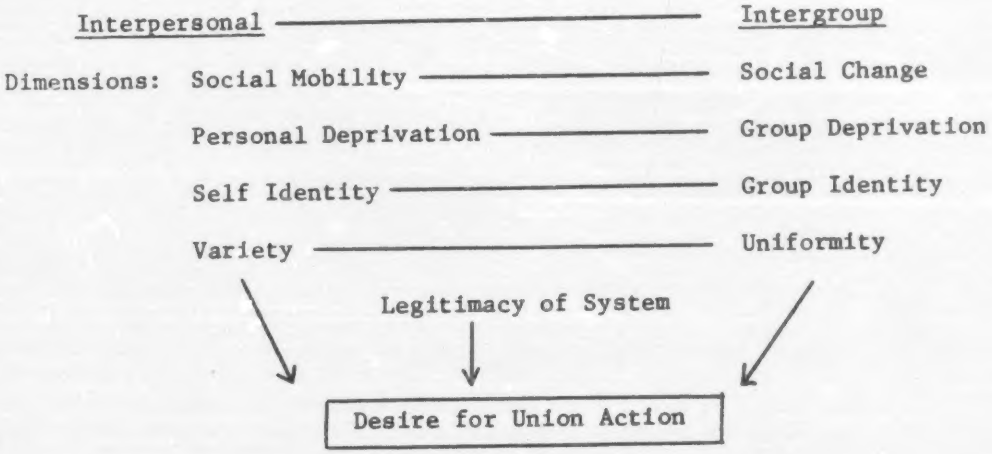
> An individual's decision to rely on union action will be a function of an unfavorable interpersonal social context and a favorable intergroup social context.

The relative states of the interpersonal and intergroup social contexts are determined by the four dimensions previously outlined.

One final aspect of the social psychology of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior needs to be presented. The discussion thus far presumes dissatisfaction is a motivating force. More importantly, it assumes that the presence of dissatisfaction is somehow illegitimate. In some cases, however, the presence of dissatisfaction may be seen as perfectly legitimate, i.e., the differences between individuals or groups upon which the sense of dissatisfaction is based may be considered as an integral part of the social system (Tajfel, 1981). The decision to invoke group action, insofar as it relates to social change (see the discussion of the first dimension), rests on a belief in the illegitimacy of the current system. Thus the perceived legitimacy of the current social system must be considered in any analysis of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior.

Figure 1 summarizes the discussion to this by presenting the critical variables in a social psychological analysis of an individual's desire for union action, a prime example of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior.

Figure 1: Variables in the Social Psychological Analysis of Interpersonal versus Intergroup Behavior


Interpersonal
Intergroup
Dimensions:
Social Mobility
Social Change
Personal Deprivation
Group Deprivation
Self Identity
Group Identity
Variety
Uniformity
Legitimacy of System
Desire for Union Action

Sample

This report is based on survey data collected in 83 school districts in New York State. These districts are a random sample stratified according to geographic location, size, wealth of the district, and district expenditures. Four regions in New York State were utilized for geographic location. The sample included 30 districts from the Binghamton-Elmira region; 14 districts in the Rochester region; 22 districts in the Syracuse region; and 17 districts in the Elmsford region. Average daily attendance in K-12 for each district was used as an indication of size. The average size of our sample is 3,128. The size of the districts ranges from a low of 277 to a high of 12,205. Assessed valuation was employed as a measure of district wealth. The average assessed valuation in our sample is $65,951,748; the range is from a low of $1,904,589 to a high of $379,246,706. Expenditures are indexed by the total general and federal aid expenditures for a district. The average for our sample is $7,433,854. The range of expenditures goes from a low of $630,968 to a high of $28,308,727.

For each district, the superintendent, central office administrative assistants, school board members, teachers in the largest elementary school and largest high school, and the principals of those schools received questionnaires. This report is based on data obtained from teachers. Out of 3,200 teacher questionnaires sent out, 2,247 usable surveys were returned, for an average response rate of 70%. Only those teachers from the 48 districts with a response rate of 30% or higher are included in this analysis. The analysis, however, is performed at the individual level. In keeping with the literature on teacher militancy (e.g., Coles, 1969), the analysis is performed separately on elementary and secondary school teachers.

Dependent Variable

An individual teacher's decision to turn to the union may take at least three different forms: 1) joining a union; 2) attempting to have the union address specific issues; or 3) engaging in militant behavior. Since all of the districts in our sample were already unionized, with most of them having at least 90% membership, joining the union was not considered a viable measure of the individual's desire for union action. Of the two other alternatives, attempting to have the union address specific issues was considered the most direct and more conservative measure. Accordingly, we employed desire for union involvement in specific issues as our dependent variable.

Teachers were asked to respond to the following query: "Do you think your local teachers' union should be more or less involved in the following areas:" There followed a list of fifteen areas, each of which was to be rated on a scale from 1 (less involved) to 5 (more involved), with 3 being "all right as is." The midpoint of this scale reflects a satisfaction with the status quo, which will vary from individual to individual. The lower numbers may be seen as moving away from the classification of an issue as an intergroup issue, while higher numbers represent an increase in the probability of an intergroup classification.

It seems likely that the classification of a given issue as belonging to the interpersonal or intergroup domain will depend upon the content of the issue. In order to account for the affect of content, following Bacharach and Mitchell (1982), the items were divided into two categories: compensation issues and issues of professional perogative. The issue areas are presented in Table 1, along with the means, standard deviations, and ranges for the elementary and secondary school teachers in our sample.

Insert Table 1 About Here

TABLE 1: DEPENDENT VARIABLES

		Elementary School Teachers (N=518)			Secondary School Teachers (N=954)		
Variable	Items Included*	Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation	Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation
Compensation	1. Getting Better Salaries 2. Health and Dental Insurance 3. Compensation for Additional Duties 4. Leaves	3.72	1.00/5.00	.72	3.88	1.00/5.00	.72
Professional	1. Class Size Impact 2. Preparation Time 3. Required Non-teaching Duties 4. Evaluation Procedures 5. Student discipline, student rights 6. Getting Teachers a Say in how they do Their Jobs 7. Getting teachers a say in how the administration runs the district	3.66	1.00/5.00	.65	3.71	1.00/5.00	.68

* These items follow the question "Do you think your local teacher's union should be more or less involved in the following areas?" Items are rated on a scale of 1 (less involved) to 5 (more involved), with 3 being "all right as is."

Independent Variables

In this section, we will explain the operationalizations of the four dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior and of perceived legitimacy employed in our analysis. For each model, hypotheses concerning the relationship between the dependent variable and the set of independent variables will be presented.

A. Social Mobility - Social Change. In considering social mobility, one must account for the possibility of an individual moving both within and outside of the organization. Of the four variables used to index social mobility, two relate to internal mobility and two deal with external mobility. The first item asked respondents "How certain are you of what your future career picture looks like?" This item was answered on a scale of 1 (very uncertain) to 4 (very certain). The second question was answered on the same scale, but asked respondents "How certain are you of the opportunities for promotion and advancement which will exist in the next few years?" These two measures both relate to internal mobility. The third measure is based on responses to the question "How likely is it that you will leave this school in the next three years?" Responses were scored on a scale of 1 (very likely) to 4 (very unlikely). The final item required subjects to respond to the question "In your opinion, how easy or difficult would it be for you to find a better job?" Respondents answered on a 1 (very easy) to 5 (very difficult) scale. These last two items deal with external mobility.

Social mobility provides a route by which the individual may leave his present position. The lack of social mobility means that the individual must find other means of dealing with the problems he confronts in his current situation. The first hypothesis then becomes:

Hypothesis 1: The less social mobility available to a teacher (e.g., the more uncertain their future career picture and promotion opportunities, and the less the likelihood of leaving the district or finding another job), the greater the desire for union involvement is both compensation issues and issues of professional perogative.

Regarding the social change or intergroup end of this dimension, our dependent variable in essence captures that end of the continuum. The desire for union involvement in an issue represents a desire for social change. As such, our analysis is based on a desire for social change, i.e., we are trying to determine the social psychological conditions which lead an individual to turn to the union to alter the status quo.

B. Personal Deprivation-Group Deprivation. A sense of deprivation results from a process of comparison. Personal deprivation occurs when an individual compares his current state to either his expectations for himself or to another individual. The first measure of personal deprivation is job satisfaction. Respondents were asked, on a scale of 1 (very satisfied) to 4 (very dissatisfied), how satisfied they were with various aspects of their job. The measure of job satisfaction is an average of the responses to five items: 1) your present job when you compare it to jobs in other schools; 2) the progress you are making toward the goals you set for yourself in your present position; 3) the chance your job gives you to do what you are best at; 4) your present job when you consider the expectations you had when you took the job; and 5) your present job in light of your career expectations. The second measure of personal deprivation is based on the single item "your salary" and measures satisfaction with pay. Relieving a sense of personal deprivation is the presumed motivating force behind individual or collective action. Thus our second hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 2: The greater the degree of personal deprivation, the greater the desire for union involvement. Specifically,

the less the job satisfaction, the greater the desire for union involvement in professional issues; and the less the satisfaction with pay, the greater the desire for union involvement in compensation issues.

Group deprivation is based on a comparison of one's social group either with some other social group or with a set of expectations one has for his own social group. Our first measure of group deprivation is a ratio of the average teachers salary in a school to the average salary of other professionals in that school (usually the administrators). This index of economic deprivation seems appropriate insofar as the other professionals in ones schools are a likely comparison group for teachers. The second and third items of group deprivation measures decisional deprivation and decisional saturation (Alutto and Belasco, 1972). For each of 23 different issues in which decision-making may occur, respondents were asked to indicate which of the 23 issues teachers had influence over, as well as which of the 23 issues they felt teachers should have influence over. The number of issues respondents felt teachers have influence over is subtracted from the number of issues they indicated teachers should have influence over. Decisional deprivation measures the degree to which teachers do not have the influence they feel they should have and is based on results of the subtraction which are greater than or equal to zero (with all negative results being scored as zero on deprivation). Decisional saturation measures the degree to which teachers feel they are overburdened by too much responsibility and is based on results which are less than or equal to zero (with all positive results being scored as zero on saturation).

A collective sense of deprivation presumably works in the same manner as an individual sense of deprivation, serving as a stimulus for group action (although the interesting possibility arises of whether a sense of group deprivation could be seen by an individual as a sign of group weakness, thereby reducing the chance of viewing group action as a positive alternative). Based on this assumption, the third hypothesis becomes:

> Hypothesis 3: The greater the sense of group deprivation, the greater the desire for union involvement. Specifically, the greater the sense of economic deprivation the greater the desire for union involvement in compensation issues; and the greater the decisional deprivation and decisional saturation, the greater the desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative.

C. Self Identify - Group Identity. The source of a person's identity has a major impact on their actions. By self identity, we are referring to those sources of identity which are based on personal sources, as opposed to group identity, which is based on identification with the union as a social group. Three measures of self identity are employed. The first is rate of agreement. Respondents were presented with the same list of 23 decision areas as used in the measure of decisional deprivation and asked to indicate which of 10 different groups or persons they would be most likely to agree with over each issue. The variable was constructed by: 1) adding together the number of issues the respondent said they would agree with the superintendent and principal over; 2) dividing this by two; and 3) dividing this in turn by the number of issues responsdents said they would agree with teachers over. Thus the variable is a ratio of agreement with administration to agreement with teachers. We assume that agreement with the administration reflects a tendency to use personal sources of self identity.

The second measure of self identity is job involvement (Lodahl and Kejner, 1965). This measures the degree to which a person's job serves as a source of identity. It is based on the average of responses to five items: (scores on a scale of 1 = very true to 7 = very false): 1) the major satisfaction in my life comes from my job; 2) the most important things that happen to me involve my work; 3) I'm really a perfectionist about my work; 4) I live, eat, and breathe my job; and 5) Quite often I feel like staying home from work instead of coming in (reversed).

The final item dealing with self identity is a measure of professional activity. Strictly speaking, this is not a measure of self identity but a measure of an alternative group identity (the possibility that professional identity is an alternative to union identity has been overlooked in past research which has tended to equate the two e.g., Schutt, 1982,yet for many teachers, this is a very real dichotomy). The measure is based on the average of responses to three yes (2)/no (1) questions: 1) Are you a member of any professional associations; 2) Have you or do you now hold any offices in professional associations; and 3) Do you subscribe to any professional magazines.

Personal sources of identity represent an alternative to group sources of identity. Therefore, our fourth hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 4: The more an individual relies on personal sources of self identity (i.e., the more they agree with administrators, the greater their job involvement, and the greater their professional activity), the less desire they will have for the union to become involved in compensation and professional issues.

Three measures of identity with the union are employed. The first two are based on the fact that in adopting a group as a source of identity, one is led to make comparisons between social groups (see the section on group deprivation). This means that one's sense of group identity should be reflected, in part, by the attitudes one has toward ones group and its relation to other groups. Following this line of reasoning, our first measure of group identity is based on responses to the question "all in all, how satisfied are you with your local teachers union?" Answers were on a scale of 1 (very satisfied) to 4 (very dissatisfied). The second item, scored on the same scale, is based on the question "In general, how do you personally feel about your school's relations with the local teacher's union?". The final item measuring group identity is an index of union activity. It is based on the aberage of responses to three yes (2) / no (1) questions: 1) In the last two years, have you voted in a local teachers' union election; 2) In the last two years, have you been elected to, nominated, or chosen for an office in a local teachers' union; and 3) In the last two years, have you gone to a local teachers' union meeting?

Establishing a group identity is a critical element in group action. Therefore our fifth hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 5: The more the union serves as a source of identity (i.e., the greater the satisfaction with the union and its relations, the more the union activity), the greater the desire for union involvement in both compensation and professional issues.

D. Variety-Uniformity. Unlike the other dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, it is very difficult to develop measures of both variety and uniformity since one implies the absence of the other. Accordingly, three measures are used to measure the degree of variety and uniformity present. The first two measures make use of the fact that uniformity is generally accompanied by the presence of stereotypes (Tajfel, 1981). The first measures the stereotype held of the administration and is based on responses to the question "What is the administration's attitude toward the local teachers' union?" Answers were on a scale of 1 (strongly favorable) to 4 (strongly unfavorable). Using the same scale, the second item measures the stereotype of the union and is based on the query "What is the local teachers' union attitude toward the administration?" The final item measures the degree of support for the union. Respondents were asked "does the local teachers union have the support of the teachers?" Answers were on a scale of 1 (most of the teachers are strongly behind it), 2 (only a few really active people but most teachers go along), 3 (not too much feeling either way), or 4 (a lot of teachers are hostile).

The literature assumes that uniformity and cohesion are essential to effective group action (e.g., Brett, 1980). Following this argument, our sixth hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 6: The greater the uniformity among teachers (i.e., the more the administration is seen as unfavorable and the union as favorable, and the greater the support among teachers), the greater the desire for union involvement in all issues.

E. Legitimacy. Any desire for social change implies an illegitimacy in the status quo. Three variables are used to measure the degree of perceived legitimacy in the system. All of the measures take heed of Tajfel's comment that the "prime condition for maintenance of the status quo is power" (1981: 318). Respondents were asked "In your opinion, who has more power in your school district, the local teachers' union or the administration?" Answers were scored on a scale of 1 (administration has all the power) through 4 (equal power) to 7 (local union has all the power). This is our first measure of legitimacy. The second and third measures try to account for the perceived legitimacy of the manner in which administrative power is employed. In responding to the items on decisional deprivation (see section on group deprivation), teachers were also asked to indicate which issues superintendents and principals had influence over and which issues they should have influence over. As with the earlier measure, the total number of issues superintendents and principals have influence over was subtracted from the total number of issues teachers feel they should have influence over. This subtraction does not account for the fact, however, that the administration may be seen as having either too much or too little influence (e.g., Bacharach and Lawler, 1980), both of which would be seen as illegitimate. To deal with this, measures of decisional saturation and decisional deprivation were constructed. Saturation is based on results of the subtraction which are less than or equal to zero (with all positive results being scored zero on saturation), while deprivation is based on results which are greater to or equal to zero (with all negative results being scored zero on deprivation) (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1982).

Our final hypothesis is a recognition of the role of legitimacy in group action:

Hypothesis 7: The greater the perceived legitimacy of the status quo (i.e., the less the decisional saturation and deprivation, and the greater the administrations power), the less the desire for union involvement in all issues.

In closing this section, it should be noted that we have not framed the hypotheses in terms of either elementary or secondary school teachers. These differences will be expounded upon in the findings section of the paper.

Table 2 presents the means, ranges, and standard deviations for the independent variables used in this analysis.

Insert Table 2 About Here

Results and Discussion

The seven hypotheses regarding the impact of interpersonal and intergroup factors on an individual's decision to rely on union action were tested by regressing each set of independent variables (i.e., social mobility, personal deprivation, group deprivation, self identity, group identity, variety-uniformity, and legitimacy) on each of the two dependent variables (i.e., desired union involvement in compensation issues and desired union involvement in issues of professional perogative) separately for elementary and secondary school teachers. The results of these regression analyses are presented in Table 3.

Insert Table 3 About Here

Model 1: Social Mobility

The first hypothesis stated that the greater the social mobility, the less desire for union involvement in all issues. The regression results testing this hypothesis are presented in Model 1 of Table 3. The results offer mixed support for the hypothesis. The greater the certainty of promotional opportunities, the less desire there is for union involvement in professional issues among elementary teachers (beta = -.09). On the secondary level, high certainty of promotional opportunities predicts to less desire for union involvement in both compensation and professional issues (beta = -.06 and -.06 respectively). Thus the findings for this variable support the hypothesis. The results for the difficulty of finding an alternate job, however, are contrary to the hypothesis. There, we find

TABLE 2: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Items	Elementary School Teachers			Secondary School Teachers		
		Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation	Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation
A. Social Mobility	1. Certainty of future	2.84	1.00/4.00	.93	2.72	1.00/4.00	.94
	2. Certainty of promotion	2.28	1.00/4.00	1.13	2.43	1.00/4.00	1.17
	3. Likelihood leave district within 3 years	2.85	1.00/4.00	1.18	2.80	1.00/4.00	1.18
	4. Ease finding alternate job	3.97	1.00/5.00	1.13	3.51	1.00/5.00	1.28
B. Personal Deprivation	1. Job satisfaction	1.91	1.00/4.00	.66	2.04	1.00/4.00	.67
	2. Satisfaction with pay	2.35	1.00/4.00	.80	2.53	1.00/4.00	.83
C. Group Deprivation	1. Economic Deprivation	.74	.45/1.42	.17	.78	.54/.97	.08
	2. Decisional Deprivation	5.53	0.0/19.0	4.41	5.24	0.0/21.0	4.44
	3. Decisional Saturation	-.53	-18.0/0.0	2.30	-.46	-20.0/0.0	2.00
D. Self Identity	1. Rate of Agreement with administration	.67	.02/11.0	1.13	.74	.02/22.00	1.39
	2. Job Involvement	4.01	1.00/6.80	1.18	4.07	1.00/7.00	1.26
	3. Professional activity	1.25	.33/2.00	.31	1.37	.33/2.00	.36
E. Group Identity	1. Satisfaction with union	1.94	1.00/4.00	.82	2.10	1.00/4.00	.81

TABLE 2 Continued:

Variable	Items	Elementary School Teachers			Secondary School Teachers		
		Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation	Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation
	2. Satisfaction with union relations	2.21	1.00/4.00	.85	2.31	1.00/4.00	.81
	3. Union activity	1.67	1.00/2.00	.28	1.66	1.00/2.00	.28
F. Variety-Uniformity	1. Administration Stereotype	2.58	1.00/4.00	.81	2.63	1.00/4.00	.77
	2. Union Stereotype	2.65	1.00/4.00	.74	2.70	1.00/4.00	.76
	3. Union Support	1.90	1.00/4.00	.64	1.91	1.00/4.00	.67
G. Legitimacy	1. Union-administration power	2.44	1.00/7.00	1.03	2.50	1.00/6.00	1.06
	2. Decisional Saturation	-6.03	-39.0/0.0	7.38	-5.58	-46.0/0.0	7.19
	3. Decisional Deprivation	1.26	0.0/30.0	3.54	1.28	0.0/32.0	3.68

TABLE 3: REGRESSION RESULTS

Dependent Variables: Desired Union Involvement

	Elementary School Teachers				Secondary School Teachers			
	Compensation (N=518)		Professional Perogative		Compensation (N=954)		Professional Perogative	
Independent Variables	r	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta
Model 1: Social Mobility								
a. high certainty of future	-.04	-.03	-.06	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.03	-.01
b. high certainty of promotion opportunity	-.03	-.04	-.10	-.09***	-.07	-.06**	-.07	-.06**
c. low likelihood leave district 3 years	-.05	-.01	-.07	-.02	-.01	.02	-.03	-.01
d. difficulty in finding alternate job	-.18	-.19***	-.09	-.09***	-.07	-.07***	-.04	-.04
Model 2: Personal Deprivation								
a. low job satisfaction	.14	.03	.30	.25***	.20	.07***	.26	.19***
b. low satisfaction with pay	.34	.33***	.23	.15***	.44	.42***	.27	.20***
Model 3: Group Deprivation								
a. low economic deprivation	-.09	-.09**	-.11	-.11***	-.01	-.01	.03	.02
b. high decisional deprivation	.09	.10***	.21	.22***	.11	.11***	.24	.24***
c. low decisional saturation	-.01	-.04	.01	-.06	.05	.02	.08	.01
Model 4: Self Identity								
a. high rate of agreement with administration	.03	.03	-.07	-.06	-.09	-.07**	-.12	-.11***
b. low job involvement	.01	.01	.12	.12***	.19	.18***	.14	.12***
c. high professional activity	-.06	-.05	.006	.01	-.05	-.01	-.04	-.02

TABLE 3 Continued:

Independent Variables	Elementary School Teachers				Secondary School Teachers			
	Compensation (N-518)		Professional Perogative		Compensation (N=954)		Professional Perogative	
	r	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta
Model 5: Group Identity								
a. low satisfaction with union	.03	.03	.02	.02	.16	.13***	.01	-.02
b. low satisfaction with union relations	.02	.07	.10	.10**	.20	.13***	.14	.14***
c. high union activity	.11	.12***	.18	.19***	.15	.17***	.20	.19***
Model 6: Variety-Uniformity								
a. unfavorable administration attitude toward union	.10	.16***	.14	.14***	.19	.23***	.22	.24***
b. unfavorable union attitude toward administration	.03	-.10	.09	-.01	.10	-.07	.15	-.004
c. low union support	.07	.05	.03	.01	.07	.05	-.04	-.09***
Model 7: Legitimacy								
a. high union power	-.14	-.13***	-.19	-.18***	-.17	-.16***	-.18	-.17***
b. low administrative decisional saturation	-.06	-.07*	-.05	-.05	-.05	-.04	-.13	-.11***
c. high administrative decisional deprivation	.05	.07*	.02	.03	-.02	-.01	-.06	-.03

* $p \leq .10$

** $p \leq .05$

*** $p \leq .01$

that the easier it is for elementary teachers to find another job, the greater the desire for union involvement in both types of issues (beta = -.19 compensation, -.09 professional). Among secondary teachers, ease of finding an alternate job predicts to desired union involvement in compensation issues (beta = -.07).

It is interesting to note that the items which support the hypothesis relate to internal mobility, while the items that run counter to the hypothesis relate to external mobility (this trend holds for the other items in three out of four cases as well, even though they fail to reach significance). It could be that the possibility of external mobility is used either to develop comparisons with one's current employer or as a last resort should changing the organization one is now in prove impossible. In both cases, the result is that the possibility of external mobility leads to increased efforts to alter the organization one is now in.

Model 2: Personal Deprivation

The regression results testing the hypothesis that personal deprivation will lead to greater desire for union involvement are presented in Model 2 of Table 3. The results provide strong support for the hypothesis. For elementary teachers, low satisfaction with pay is a strong predictor of desire for union involvement in compensation issues (beta = .33), while both low job satisfaction and low satisfaction with pay predict to desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative (beta = .25 and .15 respectively). Among secondary school teachers, both sources of satisfaction predict to both types of issues (beta = .07 low job /satisfaction, .42 low satisfaction with pay for compensation issues; and beta = .19 job satisfaction and .20 satisfaction with pay for professional issues). Only the emergence of low satisfaction with pay as a slightly stronger predictor of desire for union involvement in professional issues is counter to the specific hypothesis that job satisfaction would predict more strongly to professional issues than satisfaction with pay.

Model 3: Group Deprivation

The hypothesized impact of group deprivation on desired union involvement is tested in the regression results of Model 3 in Table 3. The results which emerge as significant are in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. Among elementary teachers, economic deprivation and decisional deprivation predict to desire for union involvement in both compensation issues (beta = -.09 and .10 respectively) and issues of professional perogative (beta = -.11 and .22 respectively). For secondary school teachers, decisional deprivation emerges as the sole predictor of desired union involvement for both compensation issues (beta = .11) and professional issues (beta = .24).

Model 4: Self Identity

The fourth hypothesis stated the more an individual relied on personal sources to achieve a sense of identity, the less desire there would be for union involvement in any type of issue. Model 4 in Table 3 contains the regression results testing this hypothesis. All of the items which emerge as significant predictors of desired union involvement support the hypothesis. Among elementary teachers, low job involvement predicts to desired union involvement in issues of professional perogative (beta = .12). For secondary school teachers, a high rate of agreement with administrators and low job involvement predict to desire for union involvement in both compensation and professional issues (beta = -.07 and .18 for compensation, and -.11 and .12 for professional perogative).

Model 5: Group Identity

Hypothesis five predicted that a sense of group identity, as measured by satisfaction with the union and its relations and union activity, would lead to a desire for greater union involvement in all issues. The regression results testing this hypothesis are given in Model 5 of Table 3. The results offer mixed support for the hypothesis. For elementary school teachers, union activity predicts to desire for union involvement in both compensation and professional issues (beta = .12 and .19 respectively), in line with the hypothesis. This same pattern also emerges among secondary school teachers (beta = .17 compensation and .19 professional). The results for the union satisfaction variables, however, run counter to the hypothesis among both elementary and secondary school teachers. Among elementary teachers, low satisfaction with the union relations is a positive predictor of desired union involvement in professional issues (beta = .10). For secondary school teachers, both low satisfaction with the union and low satisfaction with union relations predict to desire for union involvement in compensation issues (beta = .13 and .13 respectively), while low satisfaction with union relations also emerges as a predictor of desire for union involvement in professional issues (beta = .14).

Contrary to our expectations, it appears that the failure of the union to fulfill its members expectations enhances a sense of group identity. This could be due in large part to the fact that teachers are in a sense a captive audience. There are few alternatives to working through the union for achieving many concessions from the district. If one has to be a part of a group, then one is likely to do whatever one can to make sure its a good group - at least that's what the data suggest. In retrospect, these results should not be that surprising, since previous research has shown that satisfaction with the union generally leads to a low level of involvement in the union (Anderson,1977 ; Tannenbaum, 1969).

Model 6: Variety - Uniformity

The regression results testing the hypothesis that uniformity predicts to the desire for greater union involvement in all issues are presented in Model 6 of Table 3. The items which emerge as significant predictors lend support to this hypothesis. For both elementary and secondary school teachers, the perceived presence in the administration of an unfavorable attitude toward the union is a strong predictor of the desire for greater union involvement in both sets of issues (beta = .16 compensation and .14 professional for elementary teachers; beta = .23 compensation and .24 professional for secondary teachers). Low union support also emerges as a significant predictor of desired union involvement in professional issues among secondary school teachers (beta = -.09), in line with the hypothesis.

The perception of the administration's attitude twoard the union was used as a variable on the premise that it would serve as an indicator of the presence of a stereotype among union members. As the primary outgroup in conflict with the union, we would expect a negative stereotype to exist among those teachers who possess a strong sense of group identity. In the same manner, the perception of the union attitude toward the administration was included as an index of the stereotype of the union. We would expect a favorable stereotype of the ingroup. Although this item failed to emerge as significant, the fact that the betas are in the opposite direction from the administration stereotype lend strong support to this line of reasoning and deserves mention.

Model 7: Legitimacy

The final hypothesis stated that a desire for increased union involvement in all issues would be related to the perceived illegitimacy of the status quo. Model 7 in Table 3 presents the regression results testing this hypothesis. The results offer mixed support for the hypothesis. The emergence of administrative decisional saturation and decisional deprivation as weak predictors of desired union involvement in compensation issues among elementary teachers (beta = -.07 and .07 respectively), as well as the emergence of administrative decisional saturation as a predictor of desired union involvement in professional issues among secondary school teachers (beta = -.11), are all in line with the hypothesis. The emergence of high union power as a strong negative predictor of desired union involvement in both types of issues for both elementary and secondary school teachers, however, runs counter to the hypothesis (beta = -.13 compensation and -.18 professional for elementary; beta = -.16 compensation and -.17 professional for secondary).

We expected high administrative power to be a negative predictor of desired union involvement based on the argument that the administration's power would insure the maintenance of the status quo. The fact that high union power is a negative predictor suggests that although the administration may be able to use its power to maintain the status quo, the existence of this power does not mean it will be perceived as legitimate. Indeed, the data suggests that for teachers, the greater the administrations power, the more it will be seen as illegitimate and subject to social change through union action.

Integrative Models

Equations one through four (Table 4) present regression models which attempt to determine which of the previously significant variables ($p \leq .05$), when entered with other previously significant variables, remain as the strongest predictors of the desire for greater union involvement in compensation issues and issues of professional perogative for elementary and secondary school teachers.

Insert Table 4 About Here

TABLE 4: INTEGRATIVE MODELS

Dependent Variables			Independent Variables
(1) desire for union involvement in compensation issues (elementary school teachers)	=	-.13 ***	(alternate job)
		+.26 ***	(satisfaction with salary)
		-.09 ***	(economic deprivation)
		+.01	(decisional deprivation)
		+.12 ***	(union activity)
		-.01	(administration attitude to union)
		-.06	(union power)
			(R^2 = .14)
(2) desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative (elementary school teachers)	=	+.01	(promotional opportunity)
		-.04	(alternate job)
		+.19***	(job satisfaction)
		+.12***	(satisfaction with salary)
		-.12***	(economic deprivation)
		+.08***	(decisional deprivation)
		+.01	(job involvement)
		-.01	(satisfaction with union relations)
		+.19***	(union activity)
		+.01	(administration attitude to union)
		-.08***	(union power)
			R^2 = .18)
(3) desire for union involvement in compensation issues (secondary school teachers)	=	-.03	(promotion opportunity)
		+.01	(alternate job)
		+.02	(job satisfaction)
		+.33***	(satisfaction with salary)
		+.06***	(decisional deprivation)
		-.02	(rate of agreement with administration)
		+.07***	(job involvement)
		+.12***	(satisfaction with union)
		+.03	(satisfaction with union relations)
		+.13***	(union activity)
		+.05	(administration attitude to union)
		+.01	(union power)
			R^2 = .24

TABLE 4 Continued:

Dependent Variables			Independent Variables
(4) desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative	=	-.02	(promotion opportunity)
		+.14***	(job satisfaction)
		+.13***	(satisfaction with salary)
		+.14***	(decisional deprivation)
		-.05***	(rate of agreement with administration)
		+.02	(job involvement)
		-.01	(satisfaction with union relations)
		+.14***	(union activity)
		+.10***	(administration attitude to union)
		-.10***	(union support)
		-.07***	(union power)
		-.12***	(administrative decisional saturation)
			$R^2 = .21$

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* p ≤ .10
** p ≤ .05
*** p ≤ .01

A cursory examination of the four equations reveals the following:

(a) For both elementary and secondary school teachers, a greater number of predictors emerge for the desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative than for the desire for union involvement in issues of compensation.

(b) Comparing the same dependent variables across elementary and secondary school teachers, we can explain a greater degree of variance on the secondary level (R^2 = .24 for compensation issues and R^2 = .21 for professional perogative issues) than we are able to explain on the elementary level (R^2 = .14 for compensation issues and R^2 = .18 for issues of professional perogative).

(c) While consistent predictors emerge across issues and teaching levels, each issue and level also contains unique predictors.

Examining equation (1), we find that four of the previously significant variables remain as predictors of the desire for union involvement in compensation issues among elementary teachers. The easier it is for an elementary teacher to find an alternate job (beta = -.13), the greater the sense of individual and group economic deprivation (beta = .26 and -.09 respectively), and the greater the sense of group identity as measured by union activity (beta = .12), the more elementary teachers want their union to become involved in compensation issues.

Equation (3) reveals that for secondary school teachers, variables related to deprivation and identity also remain as significant predictors of the desire for union involvement in compensation issues, but in a different manner. Among secondary teachers, while the sense of individual economic deprivation is the single strongest predictor (beta = .33), the sense of group decisional deprivation also emerges as a significant predictor (beta - .06).

Further, while group identity is an important factor, as evidenced by the emergence of both satisfaction with the union and union activity as significant predictors (beta = .12 and .13 respectively), individual identity also remains a significant factor in determining the secondary teacher's desire for union involvement in compensation issues (beta = .07 for job involvement).

When we consider the desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative, we find that for elementary school teachers, as indicated in Equation (3), variables related to individual and group deprivation remain as significant predictors. Thus job satisfaction and satisfaction with salary emerge as significant (beta = .19 and .12 respectively), as does economic deprivation (beta = -.12) and decisional deprivation (beta = .08). Further, union activity, a measure of group identity, also remains a significant predictor (beta = .19). The major addition is the emergence of a measure of legitimacy as a predictor, that of union power (beta = -.08).

Equation (4) shows that deprivation, identity and legitimacy measures also emerge as significant predictors among secondary school teachers of the desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative, with the addition of variables related to variety-uniformity. Both measures of individual deprivation, job satisfaction and satisfaction with salary, remain significant (beta = .14 and .13 respectively), as does the group level variable of decisional deprivation (beta = .14). Although group identity (union activity, beta = .14) emerges as a stronger predictor than individual identity (rate of agreement with administration, beta = -.05), both are significant. Two measures of variety and uniformity remain significant, administration attitude toward the union or administration stereotype (beta = .10) and union support (beta = -.10). Finally, two measures of legitimacy emerge as significant predictors, union power (beta = -.07) and administrative decisional saturation (beta = -.12).

At least three things are worth noting about the integrative models. First is the emergence of several consistent predictors of the desire for union involvement, i.e., those related to deprivation and identity. More importantly, both interpersonal and intergroup measures of deprivation and identity emerge as significant. Second is the emergence of measures of legitimacy as significant only in relation to issues of professional perogative. This highlights the conflict between teachers and administrators over teacher versus management rights and correctly reminds us that this conflict revolves around questions of the legitimate roles the two parties should play in school district affairs. Finally, the differences between elementary and secondary school teachers are of interest. For example, the emergence of economic deprivation as a predictor among elementary teachers but not for secondary teachers suggests a greater sensitivity to group level economic comparisons. This could result from the fact that most pay scales are tied to experience and education. Since secondary teachers generally are more specialized and have more education, they generally end up being paid more. Thus elementary teachers greater sensitivity to their economic condition vis a vis the administration. This specialization at the secondary level may also help explain the emergence of both individual identity variables and variety-uniformity measures at the secondary level but not at the elementary level. It appears that specialization and the differentiation it represents raises the possibility of an individual utilizing personal sources of identity and makes the issue of variety or uniformity among teachers particularly salient at the secondary level.

Conclusion

Drawing a distinction between interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, this paper examined the impact of interpersonal and intergroup characteristics on the decision to rely on group action. Specifically, we examined how four dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior - social mobility versus social change, personal deprivation versus group deprivation, self identity versus group identity, and variety versus uniformity - and the perceived legitimacy of the current situation, affected elementary and secondary school teachers desire to have their union become involved in compensation issues and issues of professional perogative. The results substantiate the distinction between interpersonal and intergroup characteristics and accentuate the importance of including both sets of characteristics in any examination of an individual's decision to rely on collective action. The data also show the value of differentiating between groups in which collective action may occur (e.g., elementary and secondary teachers) and between issues over which collective action may be taken (e.g., compensation and professional perogative).

A thorough understanding of the social psychology of collective action requires that the investigation of interpersonal and intergroup characteristics be expanded in at least three ways. Obviously, interpersonal and intergroup characteristics are not the only factors which affect the individual's decision to engage in collective action. Previous research (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1982) and the differences in the results between elementary and secondary school teachers highlight the importance of organizational factors on the desire for group action. The precise linkage between organizational variables and the social psychological variables included here, i.e., their relative degree of independence or interaction, deserves examination.

The shift from interpersonal to intergroup behavior among a collection of individuals may be aided by the presence of a leader (Tajfel, 1981).

In terms of teachers, this makes the study of internal union processes and union leadership a focal area for research (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981). It seems apparent that factors related to the union's structure and process, such as communication, will play a key role in how an individual choses to categorize an issue (i.e., as interpersonal versus intergroup). Of particular interest is how the union and its officers handle what are essentially interpersonal issues in an intergroup manner. For example, to what degree does the union as an intergroup structure take on the resolution of the problems confronting an individual teacher? It seems likely that how the union deals with such matters will have a dramatic affect on members willingness to rely on collective action. Also of interest is how the union as a coalition deals with the differences which exist between elementary and secondary school teachers. Teachers are not a homogeneous group, as individuals or in sub-groups, and how the union deals with this variety to form a sense of unity deserves closer scrutiny.

Finally, in examining the desire for union involvement in different issues we have tapped only one possible form of collective action. The impact of interpersonal versus intergroup factors on other forms of collective behavior should also be investigated. At least two other forms are readily apparent: the decision to organize made by employees who are not part of a union and the decision to engage in militant action made by employees who are already in a union. Undoubtedly, each form of collective behavior will be the result of a unique social psychological situation. Our understanding of the social psychology of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior can only be enhanced through an investigation of there other possible forms of collective behavior.

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STRATEGIC CHOICE AND COLLECTIVE ACTION: ORGANIZATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF TEACHERS MILITANCY

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Abstract

Past research on militancy suffers from three limitations: it fails to take account of militancy as a conscious action; it has not focused on the organizational setting in which militancy occurs; and it has not been explicitly concerned with the collective aspects of militancy. To overcome these limitations, it is necessary to conceptualize militancy as a strategic choice of group behavior made within a specific organizational context. The research reported here applies this perspective to an examination of teachers militancy. The results of the study lend strong support to this approach, with differences between militancy over compensation issues and militancy over issues of professional perogative emphasizing strategic choice, the emergence of various organizational factors as predictors of militancy (e.g., work demands, bureaucratization, rewards, promotional structure, union and professional activity, and individual and positional attributes of the staff) showing the importance of organizational context, and differences between elementary and secondary schools lending support to the notion of militancy as collective action.

During the past twenty-five years, the rapid unionization and increased strike activities of public sector employees have absorbed the interests of numerous researchers. While their studies have succeeded in creating profiles of militant employees and have presented an array of potential explanations for increased militancy, they have tended to disregard three significant factors. First, militancy, whether measured in terms of attitudes or activities, is a matter of strategic choice. Researchers who have concentrated on the demographic/environmental determinants of militancy have de-emphasized the element of conscious choice in behavior. Second, conscious choices are never made in a vacuum; they are always made about issues and within the context of identifiable organizational settings. Third, union militancy is, by definition, collective behavior. The over-emphasis on characteristics of individuals has tended to neglect the inherent collective nature of militancy. This study investigates the militancy of public school teachers from a perspective which takes account of these three factors. The orientation here emphasizes that militancy is a strategic choice made within an organizational context by individuals acting in concert.

Militancy as Strategic Choice

As Russel Schutt has recently noted[1], research to explain the emergence of militancy among public employees has tended to employ one of four sets of variables, which Schutt characterizes as distinct models of militancy. Two of these, the social background model and the political model, tend to emphasize the milieu in which militancy flourishes. The social background model is conceptually supported by the notion that demographic and social variations create predispositions toward militancy. The rationale of researchers in this model is that aspects of life will affect perceptions of aspects of work. Thus, Coles[2] finds that Jews and Catholics are more militant than Protestants, and those from lower class families are more likely to be militant than those coming from upper class families. In addition, young teachers are more militant than older teachers, and male teachers are more militant than female teachers. Like Coles, Fox and Wince[3] and Alutto and Belasco[4] note that younger teachers have a greater propensity toward militant behavior. Ziegler[5] supports the notion that gender affects militancy, as do Fox and Wince.[6] Tomkiewicz[7] finds some support for the notion that less experienced teachers tend to be more militant than those with greater experience; however, he does not find that gender is significant. In addition to giving attention to these characteristics of individuals, others in the social background model have examined the effects of the larger society. Thus, Alutto and Belasco[8] find that rural teachers are more militant than their urban counterparts, and Watkins[9] relates such variables as community population size and unemployment level to strike incidence.

Like those of the social background model, writers in the political model relate environmental variables to militancy. In discussing the wider political context, Watkins[10] finds no significant relationship between the type of government or the political party in power and strike incidence. On the other hand, Weintraub and Thornton[11] find that increased strike activity can be expected with the enactment of permissive labor legislation. Coles[12] shows that there is some tendency for more Democrats than Republicans to support labor activities, and Zack[13] an experienced practitioner, includes the success of the civil rights and anti-war movements on his list of reasons for increased militancy. Moreover, other researchers who use this model have related the immediate political environment of the union to the militancy of its members.

There is a sense in which the work of the social background and political models provide a knowledge of the medium in which militancy will grow. Unfortunately, those who have taken this perspective have ignored the aspect of choice in militancy. Because they de-emphasize militancy as a strategy for attaining goals, they create a picture of a passive militant. From a perspective which emphasizes the strategic choice aspects of militancy, the individual is seen as an active militant. This does not mean that the findings of the research utilizing the social background and political model are unimportant. In terms of the social background model, an emphasis on strategic choice leads one to focus on the affect of such variables on the individuals perceptions, and their subsequent impact on decisions related to militancy. In this regard, we would expect our findings dealing with the affect of such individual and positional attributes as age, sex, and tenure on teachers militancy to be consistent with prior research. Thus our first hypothesis would be:

> Hypothesis 1: In schools where the teaching staff are younger, predominantely male, and lacking in experience, there will be high levels of militancy.[14]

While the social background model may influence perceptions, the political model, from our perspective, is better seen as an aspect of the context in which strategic choices are made. We will consider this in more detail in the next section.

The two other models Schutt[15] identifies support the concept that goals are an essential element of militancy. Those who have applied the economic model have been concerned with the peculiar budgetary, elastic, and monoposonistic characteristics of public sector employment, but they recognize that economic improvement is central to union militancy. In a private sector study, Kircher[16] found that ensuring better pay and improved fringe benefits rank as the first two reasons why persons said they voted for the union, and as Kleingartner[17] states, salaried professionals in the public sector share with all employees a fundamental concern with satisfactory wages.

The fourth model of militancy, the professional model (Schutt's incongruity model), tends to be the most choice oriented. Liebermann[18] argues that professionalism requires autonomy over decision-making. He says that because of their expert knowledge and skills, teachers require participation in the decision-making processes of their school. Corwin[19] maintains that the conflict between their desire for professional autonomy and their positions as bureaucratic employees is the source of teachers' militancy. Such a conception of the militant professional is supported by a number of studies. Jessup[20] finds that more militant teachers have a greater concern for educational issues than salary issues. Alutto and Belasco[21] relate participation in decision-making to teacher satisfaction and find that less satisfied teachers are those who feel deprived of the ability to participate in decision-making. In addition, Alutto and Belasco note that the greater the career dissatisfaction among teachers, the less militant they appear, and their organizational commitment is also negatively related to militancy.

Both the economic and professional models attempt to explain militancy in terms of goals. Writers from these two groups view unions as instrumental organizations, and militancy, in its varying manifestations, is a strategy for attaining goals. From this perspective, militants are active, choice-makers, whose militancy can be explained in terms of their desired goals. In essence, both of these models argue that dissatisfaction with the rewards offered by the organization, either monetary or professional, will lead to militancy in an effort to increase the level of rewards. Drawing on this line of reasoning, our second hypothesis becomes:

Hypothesis 2: The greater the dissatisfaction with the level of rewards in an organization, the greater the level of militancy.

Although both the economic and the professional models attempt to explain militancy in terms of goals or rewards, it is important to realize that they are concerned with two different types of goals or rewards. From a perspective which views militancy as a matter of strategic choice, it is more accurate to consider these two models as delineating different issue areas in which distinct tactical decisions regarding militancy may be made.

The notion of militancy as involving a tactical decision implies that there are different alternative behaviors or forms of militancy to chose from. Although Schutt[22] differentiates between strikes and job actions, these distinctions do not do justice to the concept of militancy as strategic choice. In the often heated political context of bargaining in which such decisions are made, even giving in may be seen as a tactical concession and thus a form of militancy[23]. The point is that in terms of strategic options in the political context of bargaining, militancy may involve not only strikes and job actions, but less severe behavior such as informal negotiations or concessions as well. Thus in examining militancy as a strategic choice, we are concerned with the type of behavior that is seen as appropriate in dealing with a specific type of issue. While we are interested in those factors which may lead to a specific choice (as in the deterministic models), our emphasis is on the active decision making process which underlies our view of militancy.

Choices Within A Context

Having maintained that militancy is strategic, it is necessary to consider the specific constraints which impinge on the selection of strategies. The classification noted above between economic and professional issues provides a general dichotimization of issue areas in which goals may be pursued. Past research has tended to focus on the economic, social, and historical conditions under which these general issues will arise (e.g., the political model). This does not, however, provide a sense of the specific constraints in which strategic choices are made. In this regard, we believe it is crucial to examine the impact of the organizational context on militancy. It is the structure and processes of the organization which create the specific context in which particular objectives will arise and in which militant strategic choices will be made. Thus it is the additional duty that is given to employees that may lead to militancy over compensation, or the lack of say over how they do their work that may lead to militancy over work related issues.

While the impact of organizational factors on militancy is an important consideration for all employees, it is particularly interesting with regard to professionals such as teachers. This is because of the inherent contradiction pointed out by various authors[24] between the professional ethos and bureaucratic structure. As one expects, professionals believe that they should have a high level of work autonomy, should serve as their own judges, and should have a high level of involvement in decision-making. On the other hand, management maintains that issues of work performance, the distribution of rewards, and decision making should be at management's discretion and not at the discretion of professionals who are employees of the organization.

While some research in organizational behavior has shown that professional norms and bureaucratic organization are not necessarily in conflict[25], in the broadest sense there appears to exist a conflict between the professional ethos and the bureaucratic structure of organizational processes as reflected in the ethos of management[26]. As more and more professionals are employed in large formal organizations, this conflict in ethos has become a stimuli for the growth of professional unions. Within the context of large organizations, unions become the main mechanisms through which professionals can have an impact on what they view to be constraining organizational structures and processes. While this conflict in ethos may partially explain the emergence of professional unions, it may also relate to the level of militancy observed in professional unions over different issues.

While the precise form of this conflict will depend upon the specific organizational context in which professionals are located, at least three aspects of the organizational context deserve special consideration. The first is the degree of bureaucratization of the workplace. In a bureaucracy, efforts are directed toward the creation of certainty through such mechanisms as the formalization and routinization of work. For teachers, the creation of certainty through bureaucratization represents an infringement on the autonomy which they expect as professionals. Thus we can hypothesize:

Hypothesis 3: The greater the level of bureaucratization in a school, the higher the level of militancy, particularly over issues of professional perogative.

The second aspect of organizational context which deserves attention is the different sources of pressure brought to bear on teachers regarding their work responsibility. The greater the pressure brought to bear, the higher the level of work demands. To the degree that the nature of work demands are in conflict with the teachers' goal orientation as embodied in the professional ethos, we would expect that teachers will turn to militant behavior to rectify the situation. Therefore our fourth hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 4: In schools with high levels of work demands, teachers will be more militant.

It should be noted that to the degree that teachers want to change the work demands, we would expect more militancy over issues of professional perogative. However, to the degree they would like to be compensated for these demands, we would expect more militancy over compensation issues.

The final aspect of the organizational context relates to the promotional structure in the school. The hierarchical structure of public school teaching is extraordinarily flat; teachers have few opportunities for promotion. They require high levels of certainty as to the foreseeable opportunities. Moreover, because the evaluation of teaching is somewhat uncertain, teachers are likely to demand participation in the establishment of criteria upon which promotions are based. Without a set of criteria for determining competence in teaching, promotion may be based upon favoritism or totally subjective indices. The teachers' professional ethos will demand that promotion be based upon established professional norms for competence. Thus,

> Hypothesis 5: To the degree that the promotional process is viewed as uncertain and nonrational, teachers will be militant about issues of professional prerogative. We do not expect these variables to be related to issues of compensation.

Militancy as Inter-Group Behavior

Much of the previous research on militancy, particularly the deterministic models which focus on individual and positional attributes which predispose individuals to militancy, have utilized the individual as the unit of analysis. Even the economic and professional models, insofar as they focus on individual dissatisfaction, occur at the individual level. For example, Corwin's[27] research makes it clear that he views militancy as a characteristic of an individual. He measures militancy in terms of individual attitudes and individual confrontations. While such an approach explicitly recognizes the fact that an individual must decide to rely on the union to address his or her grievances, it fails to account for the dramatic differences which arise when one shifts from an interpersonal (individual) to an intergroup form of behavior.[28]

The fact is that militancy is a form of group behavior. It is not the individual per se who goes out on strike, it is the union. Militancy pits one group, the union, against another group, management. Despite the conceptual recognition of militancy as a form of group behavior, few studies have empirically taken this fact into account. Alutto and Belasco,[29] who in a study of attitudinal militancy analyzed their data at the district level, are at least one exception. Such an analysis supports the concept of union militancy as a form of intergroup behavior, while also emphasizing that variations occur across different organizations and not across totally discrete and unrelated individuals.

An awareness of the differences between interpersonal and intergroup behavior also sensitizes one to the variety of groups to which an individual may belong. In terms of teachers unions and teachers militancy, it is important to realize that for many teachers the idea of being a professional is antithetical to the idea of being a union member. In other words, identifying oneself as a part of a professional group may mean that one is unable to identify with the union. Thus one can hypothesize:

> Hypothesis 6: In schools where teachers exhibit a higher degree of professional identity, their will be less militancy.

In summary, we view militancy as a strategic choice of group behavior made within a specific organizational context. The study reported here has been designed to apply this perspective in examining public school teachers militancy. First, to emphasize the strategic choice aspect of militancy, our dependent variable includes a wide range of tactical options. The use

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of these options in different bargaining areas (i.e., compensation and professional perogative) is also examined. Second, to take account of the specific organizational context in which these strategic choices are made, the independent variables utilized measure various aspects of organizational structure and process. Finally, in recognition of militancy as a form of intergroup behavior, the analysis is performed using the school as the unit of analysis. This also enables us to highlight the impact of organizational contraints on strategic choice by comparing elementary to secondary schools. It is our belief that this approach provides a more realistic view of militancy than previous research, and in so doing addresses many of the limitations of earlier work on union militancy.

METHOD

Sample

This report is based on survey data collected in 83 school districts in New York State. These districts are a random sample stratified according to geographic location, size, wealth of the district, and district expenditures. Four regions in New York State were utilized for geographic location. The sample included 30 districts from the Binghamton-Elmira region; 14 districts in the Rochester region; 22 districts in the Syracuse region; and 17 districts in the Elmsford region. Average daily attendance in K-12 for each district was used as an indication of size. The average size of our sample is 3,128. The size of the districts ranges from a low of 277 to a high of 12,205. Assessed valuation was employed as a measure of district wealth. The average assessed valuation in our sample is $65,951,748; the range is from a low of $1,904,589 to a high of $379,246,706. Expenditures are indexed by the total general and federal aid expenditures for a district. The average for our sample is $7,433,854. The range of expenditures goes from a low of $630,968 to a high of $28,308,727.[30]

For most districts, teachers in the largest elementary and largest high school received questionnaires. In certain districts, teachers in middle schools or junior high schools also received surveys. Out of 3,200 teacher questionnaires sent out, 2,247 usable surveys were returned, for an overall response rate of 70%. In terms of district response rates, these ranged from 0 to 100%. Only those districts with a response rate of 30% or higher are included in our analysis (N = 48). The data employed in this study are aggregated to the school level, with districts which did not have an elementary and secondary school organization excluded from the analysis.[31] The final sample employed contains 42 elementary school organizations and 45 secondary school organizations. In keeping with the early literature on school militancy and in line with our argument concerning the importance of organizational factors as determinants of militancy, we used a school level aggregation in order to capture the differences between elementary and secondary schools.

In this regard, it should be noted that for each of our dependent and independent variables, we used organizational scores based on mean scores of the responses of organizational members. This is especially relevant in this analysis given our argument for militancy as a collective phenomena. As such, the variance accounted for in this paper is across rather than within organizations.

Dependent Variable

When militancy is viewed as a tactical or strategic choice, then the possibility arises that not only are there different actions that may be taken that fall under the rubric of militancy,[32] but that different actions will be taken in response to different issues. In order to capture the affect of the type of issue on militancy, following Bacharach and Mitchell[33], we utilize two distinct issue areas: traditional issues of compensation and issues of professional perogative.

Teachers were asked "For each issue below, please indicate the most severe means you would be willing to approve of to influence the administration." There followed a list of areas, each of which was to be rated on the following scale: 1 (strike), 2 (some type of job action), 3 (continue work with formal negotiations), 4 (continue work with informal negotiations), and 5 (give in). The issue areas included are drawn from Bacharach and Mitchell[34] and consist of four items of compensation and seven items of professional perogative. The means, ranges, and standard deviations of the dependent variables and a list of the issue areas are presented in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 About Here

Independent Variables

A. Individual and Positional Attributes: Four items are used to characterize the individual and positional attributes of a school's teaching force. Two of the items are taken from secondary data obtained from the New York State Department of Education's Basic Educational Data System. The first is the percent of teachers in the school who are below 40 years of age. The second is the percent of teachers in the school who are males.

The third and fourth items are based on survey responses. The first, number of years in the district, is based on responses to the question "How long have you worked in this district?" The second, number of years in position, is based on responses to the question "How long have you been in your present position in this district?"

B. Rewards: Three measures of alternative rewards were employed.[35]

The first is based on a question which asked teachers how satisfied they are with their salary. Responses were coded on a 1 = very satisfied to 4 = very dissatisfied scale.

The second variable measures teachers decisional deprivation. Respondents were asked to indicate which of 23 different decision areas that had influence and which areas they should have influence over. Decisional deprivation was computed as the difference between the total influence teachers felt they should have over the 23 issue areas and the total influence they believed they actually had over the same issues.

Professionals in organizations may be rewarded financially or symbolically. The adequacy of the financial reward structure is tapped by the measure of satisfaction with salary. By incorporating teachers into decision-making, one is placing value on their professional judgement and rewarding their expertise. Our measure of decisional deprivation captures the adequacy of this form of symbolic rewards. In essence, these two types of rewards parallel the two issue areas tapped by our dependent variables. Although our hypothesis did not differentiate between types of rewards and issue specific militancy, it seems likely that dissatisfaction with monetary rewards will predict to militancy over compensation, while decisional deprivation will predict to militancy over issues of professional perogative.

The final reward variable is based on a five item scale measuring job involvement.[36] All of the items are scored from 1 (very true) to 7 (very false), and the scale has an alpha of .75.

Both salary and participation in decision-making are extrinsic rewards, i.e., they are something that the organization can do to recognize the professional's performance and expertise. Neither of these capture the intrinsic rewards, i.e., the sense of competence or personal satisfaction that a professional may receive from a job. Job involvement taps the adequacy of the intrinsic rewards which the professionals receive from their job. That is, job involvement measures the degree to which the teacher sees the work itself as the primary source of satisfaction and identification. Therefore, to the degree that teachers are intrinsically rewarded, i.e., there is high job involvement, we would expect that teachers would be less militant.

C. Bureaucratization: Two items were used as indices of bureaucratization. The first is a four item scale drawn from Bacharach and Aiken[37] which measures the degree of autonomy on the job. The items are scored from 1 (definitely true) to 4 (definitely false) and the scale has an alpha of .74.

The second variable is a seven item scale measuring role conflict.[38] Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .89, with the items being scored on a scale of 1 (very true) to 7 (very false).

In terms of the conflict between bureaucratic and professional ethos, these two variables are critical. Autonomy and role conflict tap the degree to which the work activities of teachers is bureaucratized. Autonomy is a measure of independence in the work process, while role conflict is a measure of the degree of consensus in the expectations for behavior in the role. In terms of the work process, low autonomy and low conflict imply a bureaucratic work process, while high autonomy and high conflict suggest a nonbureaucratic work process.

D. Work Demands: Four items are used as measures of the average work demands in each school. The first, supervisory responsibilities, asked teachers if they supervised anyone and was answered either no (1) or yes (2). The second item asked teachers if they supervised any extracurricular activities and was answered in the same manner as the first item. The third item involved a subjective perception of class size and required teachers to response to the statement "my classes are too large" on a scale of 1 (definitely true) to 4 (definitely false). The final item represents the answer to the question, "On the average, how many hours a week do you work on school matters at home?"

The four variables discussed above imply different sources of pressure brought to bear on the teachers regarding their work responsibility. The first two variables, supervisory responsibility and supervision of extracurricular activities, tap the supervisory duties assumed by teachers. The third variable, i.e., class size, taps the teacher's perception of the degree to which the class size exceeds a reasonable limit. The final dimension, i.e., average hours worked at home, is concerned with the degree to which work demands extend beyond working hours.

E. Promotional Structure: Two items are employed as measures of the promotional structure in the school. The first item, certainty of promotional opportunity, is based on responses to the question, "How certain are you of the opportunities for promotion and advancement which will exist in the next few years?" Answers were scores on a scale of 1 (very uncertain) to 4 (very certain). The second item measures the perceived rationality of the promotion process and is based on responses to the question, "To what degree do you think that promotion in this school is basically a rational process?" This question was scored on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 5 (a great deal).

F. Union and Professional Identity: Four variables measure the degree of union and professional identity in the school.[39] The first is a three item scale measuring the extent of union activity. The second is a three item scale measuring the extent of professional activity. The third variable is a four item scale measuring the degree of desire for union involvement in compensation issues, while the final variable is a seven item scale measuring the degree of desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative.

The first two variables measure the degree of commitment to the values embodied in unions as they may differ from the values embodied in professional organizations. Teachers with an orientation toward professional associations assume they share with administrators and the community a common set of values and expectations. On the other hand, teachers who demonstrate a preference for the union as their representative organization, assume their values and expectations are more closely shared by other teachers than by members of the wider educational establishment. Strategic actions directed toward the administration are more likely to come from those who do not view themselves as sharing a professional ethos with administrators but with other teachers.

In addition to expecting that levels of militancy will vary with the preference for union rather than professional activities, it is also expected that militancy will vary with expressed preferences for issue involvement. Insofar as professional unions have emerged from the conflict of the professional ethos with the bureaucratic ethos, we would expect the desire for involvement in professional issues to be more strongly related to militancy. Moreover, because professional employees share with all workers a concern with compensation and with the organizations in which they work, we do not expect that a desire for involvement in compensation issues will differentiate between militancy over compensation and militancy over professional prerogatives.

Table 2 presents the means, standard deviations, and ranges of the independent variables used in this analysis.

Insert Table 2 About Here

Analysis

To test our six hypotheses, each set of independent variables relevant to a given hypothesis was regressed on each dependent variable separately for elementary and secondary schools. This procedure allows us to test such hypothesis without interference from variables unrelated to that particular hypothesis.

To find out what the most significant predictors of teachers' militancy over compensation issues and teachers' militancy over issues of professional perogative are, regardless of which hypothesis they relate to, integrated regression models were then run for both elementary and secondary schools. Each model represents the results of a backwards stepwise procedure in which each of the previously significant ($p \leq .05$) variables was entered, with variables being removed in subsequent steps if they failed to reach significance. This procedure provides the independent variables which together explain the greatest amount of variance in the militancy measures (i.e., maximum R^2). This is not to imply that other variables are not important; it is simply to place primary emphasis at this stage of our analysis on parsimony.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 3 presents the results of the regression analyses testing each of our six hypotheses on the elementary and secondary school level.

Insert Table 3 About Here

A. Individual and Positional Attributes

Recall that the first hypothesis deals with the relationship between attributes of the individuals in elementary and secondary school organizations and reported militancy. We base this hypothesis on previous research dealing with demographic and environmental variations among individuals and militancy.

There are three aspects to hypothesis one, the first related to age, the second to sex, and the third to experience. Specifically: 1) in schools in which the percentage of teachers below the age of forty is high, we expect militancy over compensation and professional prerogative issues to be high. The findings on the elementary school organization level fail to support this aspect of the hypothesis for militancy over either compensation (beta = .32) or professional prerogative issues (beta = .36). We find limited support on the secondary school level. The relationship between the percentage of the teaching staff below forty and militancy on compensation issues is significant in the expected direction (beta = -.32), but the relationship between this predictor and militancy over professional prerogative issues fails to attain significance. It appears that the affect of staff age on militancy depends upon the organizational level one attends to; 2) in schools in which there is a high percentage of males on the teaching staff there will be high levels of militancy over issues of compensation and professional prerogative. No support is found for this aspect of the hypothesis on either organizational level, with respect to either militancy over issues of compensation or militancy over issues of professional prerogative. It appears that sex has little effect on the reported militancy; 3) the more experienced the staff in schools, the less militant the staff will be over issues of compensation and professional prerogative. On the elementary school organization level, we find rather mixed support for this aspect of the hypothesis. High number of years in the district is associated with low militancy over compensation issues (beta = .67) and professional prerogative issues (beta = .66). However, high number of years in the position predicts high militancy over compensation issues (beta = -.35), while it fails to emerge as significant as a predictor of militancy over professional prerogative issues. On the secondary school organization level, there is no support for this aspect as no relationship emerges as significant.

B. Rewards

The second hypothesis states that the less satisfied teachers are with their rewards, the more militant they will be. In presenting our measures of rewards, we went on to argue that there will be a direct relationship between the type of reward and the issue over which teachers will be militant. Thus dissatisfaction with salary should be related to militancy over compensation issues. We find support for this notion on the elementary school level. The less satisfied teachers are with salary, the more militant the behavior they would support in an effort to influence the administration (beta = -.29). On the secondary school level, however, the relationship between militancy over compensation issues and low satisfaction with salary fails to attain significance. On the contrary, low satisfaction with salary predicts that the teachers would support less militant behavior over issues of professional prerogative (beta = .41). In a similar manner, decisional deprivation, a form of symbolic reward that deals with the degree to which teachers feel that they are incorporated into the decision-making process, should be related to militancy over issues of professional prerogative. Specifically, it is expected that the greater the perception of decisional deprivation by teachers, the more militant they will be over issues of professional prerogative. The findings strongly support this idea on both elementary school organization level (beta = -.43) and the secondary school organization level (beta = -.33). In addition, the relationship between decisional deprivation and militancy over compensation issues emerges as significant at the elementary school organization level (beta = -.30).

We also argued that to the degree that teachers feel intrinsically rewarded, conceptualized as high job involvement, they would be less militant.

The findings on the elementary school organization level fail to attain significance and thus lend no support for this idea. On the secondary school organization level, the relationship between low job involvement and both militancy over issues of compensation and militancy over issues of professional perogative are significant and in the expected direction (beta = -.39 and -.54 respectively), thereby lending support to this line of reasoning.

C. Bureaucratization

Autonomy and role conflict were presented as critical variables in representing the conflict between bureaucratic and professional ethos. Low autonomy and low conflict represent indications of a bureaucratic work process. Therefore, hypothesis three states that we expect there to be a positive relationship between low autonomy and low conflict and reported militancy. The relationship is expected to be strongest for issues of professional prerogative, rather than issues of compensation.

The findings on this model do not support the hypothesis stated. Specifically, low autonomy does not emerge as significant in either the elementary or secondary school organizations, for either compensation or professional prerogative issues. Low conflict, however, emerges as significant in all four models, but in the unexpected direction. That is, in elementary school organizations, low conflict is positively related to low militancy over compensation issues (beta = .48) and professional prerogative issues (beta = .42), and in secondary school organizations low conflict is similarly related to compensation issues (beta = .31) and professional prerogative issues (beta = .48).

Although these results run counter to our hypothesis, they are consistent with other research which suggests that professionals are willing to accept bureaucratic constraints if these constraints help to clarify their role in the organization.[40] Insofar as low conflict implies some degree of consensus as to the teachers role, this would explain the observed relationships between conflict and militancy over compensation issues and issues of professional prerogative.

D. Work Demands

Hypothesis four states that in schools with high levels of work demands, teachers will be militant over both issues of compensation and issues of professional prerogative. We expect that this is the case because the goal orientation of teachers as embedded in the professional ethos is in conflict with the nature of work demands. Teachers are likely to turn to militant behavior in an effort to redress the situation when confronted with high levels of work demands.

This notion is strongly supported by the findings in the models dealing with elementary school organizations. For militancy over compensation issues, high supervisory responsibility, low perception of class size as to large, and high number of hours worked at home each emerge as significant predictors in the expected direction (betas = -.24, .39, and .31, respectively). For issues of professional prerogative, high supervisory responsibility and low perception of class size as too large emerge as significant predictors in the expected direction (betas = -.23 and .42, respectively). In each case, as teachers' perception of the level of work demands increases, they report that they would approve of more militant behavior to influence the administration over issues of compensation and professional prerogative.

For secondary school organizations, we find more limited support for the hypothesis. While three relationships emerge as significant in the model dealing with militancy over compensation issues, only the relationship between high number of hours worked at home and militancy over compensation issues is in the expected direction (beta = .30). The finding for high supervisory responsibility (beta = .31) and low perception of calss size as being too large (beta = -.22) are both contrary to our expectations. That is, as the perception of the level of work demands increases, teachers report that they would approve of less militant behavior to influence the administration on compensation issues. There are no significant relationships in the model dealing with work demands and militancy over issues of professional prerogative, and hence there is no support for the hypothesis offered.

The apparently contradictory results concerning supervisory responsibility and classroom size can be explained in the context of the differences between elementary and secondary school organizations. On the elementary level, the teacher is called upon to teach numerous subjects generally involving extended periods of contact with one group of students. On the secondary level, however, the teacher is primarily responsible for the teaching of a particular subject matter to several groups of students, over several limited intervals of time. The nature of secondary education therefore allows the teacher to present the material in a relatively programmed fashion, especially in the context of the New York State Regents curriculum. The primary supervisory responsibility a teacher is likely to have concerns the supervision of teacher aides. These aides either assist in classroom preparation and activities or, particularly on the elementary level, are part of a team responsible for the design and development of individualized instructional programs for the handicapped and problem students. It is clear that either use of teacher aides represents an added burden to the elementary teacher, whereas the use of teacher aides in the classroom on the secondary level, where they can be given responsibility for much of the more routinized and programmatic aspects of the curriculum, reduces the teachers workload. These differences help explain why supervisory responsibility contributes to militancy on the elementary level, while reducing militancy among secondary teachers. These differences also explain why the perception of class size as being too large would have a much more significant impact on the elementary rather than the secondary level where class size is unimportant or may even be an indicator of teacher popularity.

E. Promotional Structure

Two measures of promotional structure were included in our analysis, high certainty of promotional opportunity and high rationality of the promotion process. Hypothesis five predicts that low certainty about promotional opportunity and low rationality of the promotion process will lead to high militancy. We find somewhat limited support for this hypothesis. That is, high rationality of the promotion process emerges as significant in the expected direction in all cases. In elementary school organizations, high perception of the promotion process as rational predicts low militancy over issues of compensation (beta = .29) and professional prerogative (beta = .36). Likewise, in secondary school organizations, the same relationship emerges (beta = .45 for compensation issues and beta = .62 for issues of professional prerogative). High certainty of promotional opportunity fails to emerge as a significant variable in any model, suggesting that the fairness of the process is more important to teachers than the certainty of the opportunity for promotion.

F. Union and Professional Identity

Our final hypothesis is based on the potential conflict between teachers identity as professionals and teachers identity as union members. It states that the greater the degree of professional identity, the less the militancy. Thus we expect that in schools in which teachers exhibit a high degree of professional activity, they will report that they support less militant means of influencing the administration over issues of compensation and professional prerogative. We find strong support for this hypothesis on the elementary school level. High professional activity is related to low militancy over issues of compensation (beta = .22) and professional prerogative (beta = .26). On the secondary school organization level, high professional activity emerges as significant in predicting low militancy over compensation issues (beta = .32). It does not attain significance with respect to militancy over issues of professional prerogative. In a similar manner, we expect that the relationship between union activity and militancy over compensation and professional prerogative issues will be positive. That is, in schools in which teachers are more involved in union activities, they will report that they would support more militant means to influence the administration on compensation and professional prerogative issues. The findings strongly support this hypothesis. For both elementary and secondary school organizations, high union activity emerges as a significant predictor of militancy (beta = -.40 and -.29 for elementary school organizations on compensation and professional prerogative issues; beta = -.41 and -.41 for secondary school organizations on compensation and professional prerogative issues, respectively). Taken together, these results lend strong support to the contention that union activity and professional activity conflict with one another, pulling teachers in opposite directions. This highlights one of the major dilemmas of "professional" unions.

In discussing the notion of union identity, we also argued that in schools in which teachers express a desire for the union to become more involved in issues of compensation and professional prerogative, the teachers will report that they approve of more militant means of influencing the administration on these two issue areas. The findings support this idea with respect to the desire for union involvement in issues of professional prerogative. Specifically, for elementary school organizations, the higher the desire for union involvement in issues of professional prerogative, the greater the militancy over issues of compensation (beta = -.27) and professional prerogative (beta = -.56). For secondary school organizations, the same relationships hold true (beta = -.32 for issues of compensation and -.59 for issues of professional prerogative). This implies that where teachers see no conflict between their professional identity and their union identity, a high level of militancy over all issues may be anticipated. With respect to the desire for union involvement in compensation issues, only one relationship emerges as significant: the relationship between militancy over professional prerogative issues and the high desire for union involvement in compensation issues (beta = .59). This finding implies that the higher the desire for union involvement on compensation issues, the lower the militancy over issues of professional prerogative. This relationship, when taken in combination with the earlier results in which a low satisfaction with salary related to low militancy over issues of professional prerogative for secondary teachers, suggests that secondary school teachers perceive a distinct difference between compensation issues and issues of professional prerogative. Specifically, it appears that concern over salary leads secondary teachers to avoid becoming involved in issues of professional prerogative, either in a trade-off between to obtain one while sacrificing the other or due to a conflict between their identity as professionals and their identity as union members. Elementary teachers, on the other hand, seem to see the issues as more directly related and appear both less willing to make such trade-offs and more likely to see no conflict between their professional and union identities.

Integrated Models

Table 4 presents the integrated models which attempt to determine which variables are the strongest predictors of militancy over compensation issues and militancy over issues of professional prerogative in each type of school, regardless of hypotheses.

Insert Table 4 About Here

Examining equation (1), we find that working a high number of hours at home emerges as the strongest predictor of militancy over compensation issues for elementary school teachers (beta = -.38), with a high desire for union involvement in issues of professional prerogative also being a strong predictor (beta = -.36). A high level of union activity and a low level of role conflict remain as weaker predictors (beta = -.28 and .26 respectively).

Equation (2) reveals that the desire for union involvement in issues of professional prerogative remains as the strongest predictor of militancy over issues of professional prerogative at the elementary school level (beta = -.40). Staffs characterized by a high number of years in the district (beta = .27) and a high percentage of teachers below the age of 40 (beta = .27) are weak predictors of militancy, as are high rationality of the promotion process (beta = .24) and high union activity (beta = -.21).

Taken together, equations (1) and (2) present an image of the militant elementary school as one staffed by teachers who have a high desire for union involvement in issues of professional prerogative. It seems that these teachers identify the union as the vehicle through which to address professional issues, issues which are seen as relating to both compensation and professional prerogative. Further, they are issues which elementary school teachers are willing to fight for.

This image of the militant elementary school stands in marked contrast to that of the militant secondary school. In equation (3), we find that low job involvement (beta = -.49) and high union activity (-.48) remain as the only predictors of militancy over compensation issues at the secondary level. Equation (4) shows that a high desire for union involvement in compensation issues is the strongest predictor of low militancy over issues of professional prerogative at the secondary level (beta = .55), with high union activity (beta = -.44), a high desire for union involvement in issues of professional prerogative (beta = -.40) and low job involvement (beta = -.37) emerging as strong predictors of militant behavior at this level. The image of the militant secondary school which these results present is one staffed by teachers who receive few intrinsic rewards from their job and who rely on the union to obtain extrinsic rewards. They also draw a clear distinction between compensation issues and issues of professional prerogative, and appear willing to make trade-offs between the two.

It seems likely that part of the differences between militant elementary and secondary schools can be attributed to two factors. First, the rise of teachers unions was due in large part to the efforts of secondary school teachers. They have dominated union offices, and as a result have received more from the union. This experience is probably responsible for their perception of the union as a vehicle for obtaining extrinsic rewards and their ability to differentiate between compensation issues and issues of professional prerogative. In contrast, elementary school teachers are less experienced and have had fewer of the issues which are critical to them addressed by the union. They appear to see themselves slighted as professionals, both in terms of compensation and prerogatives, and seek to redress this situation. This situation is exacerbated by the organizational differences between elementary and secondary schools noted earlier. The specialization of secondary school teachers, combined with their teaching to several groups of students, adds to their professional image. In contrast, the structure of elementary schools detracts from the professional image of elementary school teachers. Militancy would appear to be seen as a vehicle for improving the professional image of elementary school teachers.

Conclusion

In an effort to overcome some of the limitations of previous research on union militancy, this paper conceptualized militant behavior as a strategic choice occuring within a specific organizational context which involves collective action. Using this conceptualization, we examined the affect of various organizational factors (i.e., individual and positional attributes of the staff, rewards, bureaucratization, work demands, promotional structure, and union and professional identity of the staff) on the willingness of elementary and secondary school teaching staffs to engage in militant behavior over compensation issues and issues of professional prerogative.

The results of our analysis lend strong support to this approach to the study of teacher militancy. First, differences in predictors between militancy over compensation issues and militancy over issues of professional prerogative highlight the strategic choice aspect of militant behavior. Militancy is not an all or nothing phenomenon -- it is a tactic chosen to obtain a specific outcome in a particular situation. Second, each of the organizational models was shown to predict to militancy, with different predictors emerging at the elementary and secondary school levels. This accentuates the importance of the organizational context. Finally, the differences elementary and secondary school staffs also underscores the notion of militancy as a form of collective behavior. Teachers are not a monolithic interest group. A union is a coalition of interest groups[41] and successful union action requires that the union be able to mobilize each of its constituent interest groups.

In this regard, one of the more interesting aspects of our findings is the contrasting images of militant elementary and secondary school teaching staffs which emerge. The results suggest that appeals to elementary school staff should be couched in terms of professional improvement and the teacher as a professional, regardless of the issue. In contrast, appeals to secondary school teachers should be issue specific rather than broad based.

This paper has some obvious limitations. First, by aggregating issues into compensation issues and issues of professional prerogative we may be underplaying the variation which may emerge across specific issues. Second, by using our measure of militancy as a scale, we are unable to focus on the specific tactical choices which may be made in terms of militant behavior. Both of these limitations are due, in large part, to our use of cross-sectional survey data. Ideally, our conceptualization of militancy as strategic choice should be pursued using in-depth longitudinal case studies. In that way, one would be able to address questions related to pattern bargaining and the trade-off of issues, while examining the impact of the organizational context, and the context of the labor-management relationship in particular, in more detail. Despite these limitations, however, we believe that this research supports the validity of this approach to militancy and is deserving of further investigation.

TABLE 1: DEPENDENT VARIABLES

		Elementary Schools (N=42)			Secondary Schools (N=45)		
Variable	Items included*	Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation	Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation
A. Compensation	1. Getting better salaries	2.85	2.17/3.50	.25	2.71	2.19/3.19	.21
	2. Health and dental insurance						
	3. Compensation for additional duties						
	4. Leaves						
B. Professional Perogative	1. Class size impact	2.91	2.29/3.40	.24	2.87	2.02/3.37	.24
	2. Preparation time						
	3. Required non-teaching duties						
	4. Evaluation procedures						
	5. Student discipline, student rights						
	6. Getting teachers a say in how they do their jobs						
	7. Getting teachers a say in how the administration runs the district						

* These items follow the statement "For each issue below, please indicate the most severe means you would be willing to approve of to influence the administration." Items are rated on a scale of 1 (strike), 2 (some type of job action), 3 (continue work with formal negotiations), 4 (continue work with informal negotiations), and 5 (give in).

TABLE 2: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

		Elementary Schools (N=42)			Secondary Schools (N=45)		
Variable	Items	Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation	Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation
A. Individual and Positional Attributes	1. % below 40	66.28	36.66/86.66	13.77	65.81	38.88/90.90	12.06
	2. % male	16.71	0.0/35.29	8.14	58.52	23.52/84.84	9.75
	3. years in district	10.38	3.50/19.67	2.84	10.47	2.83/14.83	2.20
	4. years in position	7.91	2.25/15.83	2.57	9.35	2.67/12.56	1.90
B. Rewards	1. satisfaction with salary	2.28	1.33/3.04	.39	2.58	1.79/3.73	.42
	2. decisional deprivation	5.24	1.75/8.33	1.86	4.89	1.32/9.87	1.60
	3. Job involvement	4.05	3.29/4.84	.37	4.12	3.30/5.04	.44
C. Bureaucratization	1. autonomy	2.31	1.62/3.02	.35	2.15	1.67/2.55	.24
	2. role conflict	4.64	3.06/5.81	.56	4.33	2.81/5.01	.58
D. Work Demands	1. supervisory responsibility	1.67	1.00/1.50	.13	1.17	1.00/1.54	.13
	2. supervise extracurricular activities	1.19	1.00/1.75	.19	1.58	1.25/1.83	.14
	3. classes too large	2.64	1.71/3.50	.41	2.86	2.13/3.67	.31
	4. work hours at home	8.73	4.71/13.83	2.32	9.61	5.61/17.00	2.69

TABLE 2 Continued:

Variable	Items	Elementary Schools Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation	Secondary Schools Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation
E. Promotional structure	1. certainty of promotional opportunity	2.36	1.40/4.00	.51	2.44	1.62/3.11	.34
	2. rationality of promotion process	2.72	1.83/3.60	.43	2.59	1.43/3.41	.42
F. Union and Professional Activity	1. union activity	1.68	1.33/1.93	.12	1.69	1.44/1.94	.11
	2. professional activity	1.24	1.00/1.56	.13	1.36	1.04/1.64	.12
	3. desired union involvement	3.72	3.04/4.42	.28	3.86	3.26/4.31	.26
	4. desired union involvement professional issues	3.69	3.00/4.66	.31	3.70	3.26/4.12	.20

TABLE 3: REGRESSION RESULTS

	Dependent Variables							
	Elementary Schools (N=42)				Secondary Schools (N=45)			
	Compensation		Professional Perogative		Compensation		Professional Perogative	
Independent Variables	r	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta
A. Individual and Positional Attributes								
1. high % below 40	.11	.32**	.12	.36**	-.27	-.32**	-.02	-.24
2. high % male	-.24	-.13	-.12	.002	-.11	-.13	.06	.11
3. high number of years in district	.26	.67***	.23	.66***	.07	-.31	-.22	-.19
4. high number of years in position	.001	-.35**	.01	-.29	.11	.24	-.21	-.19
B. Rewards								
1. low satisfaction with salary	-.26	-.29**	-.08	-.16	-.34	-.13	.12	.41**
2. high decisional deprivation	-.27	-.30**	-.37	-.43***	-.18	-.07	-.47	-.33**
3. low job involvement	-.19	-.01	-.09	.11	-.48	-.39***	-.41	-.54**
C. Bureaucratization								
1. low autonomy	-.06	.04	-.01	.08	-.11	-.03	-.28	-.16
2. low conflict	.47	.48***	.40	.42***	.32	.31**	.52	.48**

TABLE 3 Continued:

	Elementary Schools (N=42)				Secondary Schools (N=45)			
	Compensation		Professional Perogative		Compensation		Professional Perogative	
	r	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta
D. Work Demands								
1. high supervisory responsibility	-.13	-.24*	-.13	-.23*	.25	.31***	.20	.21
2. high supervision of extra-curricular activities	-.04	-.06	-.04	-.07	-.06	-.11	.09	.04
3. low perception of class size as too large	.28	.39***	.34	.42***	-.22	-.22*	.19	.17
4. high number of hours worked at home	.28	.31***	.0002	.06	.17	.30**	.02	.03
E. Promotional Structure								
1. high certainty of promotional opportunity	.28	.13	.28	.10	.08	-.14	.18	-.12
2. high rationality of promotion process	.36	.29*	.41	.36**	.37	.45***	.56	.62***
F. Union and Professional Activity								
1. high union activity	-.45	-.40***	-.46	-.29***	-.46	-.41***	-.49	-.41**
2. high professional activity	.23	.22**	.25	.26***	.26	.32***	.03	.15
3. high desire for union involvement in compensation issues	-.23	-.06	-.14	.21	-.05	.13	.27	.59**
4. high desire for union involvement in professional issues	-.46	-.27**	-.60	-.56***	-.26	-.32***	-.30	-.59**

* $p \leq .10$

** $p \leq .05$

*** $p \leq .01$

Footnotes

1. R. Schutt. "Models of Militancy: Support for Strikes and Work Actions Among Public Employees", Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 1982, 35, 406-422.
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3. W. Fox and M. Wince. "The Structure and Determinants of Attitudinal Militancy Among Public School Teachers", Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 1976, 30, 47-58.
4. J. Alutto and J. Belasco. "Determinants of Attitudinal Militancy Among Teachers and Nurses," in Creswell and Murphy (eds.), Education and Collective Bargaining: Readings in Policy and Research. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1976.
5. H. Ziegler. The Political Life of American Teachers. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967.
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7. J. Tomkiewicz. "Determinants of Teacher Militancy: Factors Affecting the Decision to Strike," Journal of Collective Negotiations, 1979, 8, 91-96.
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9. T. Watkins. "The Effects of Community Environment on Negotiations," Journal of Collective Negotiations, 1972, 1, 317-327.
10. Ibid.
11. A. Weintraub and R. Thornton. "Why Teachers Strike: The Economic and Legal Determinants," Journal of Collective Negotiations, 1976, 5, 193-206.
12. S. Coles, op. cit.
13. A. Zack. "Impasscs, Strikes, and Resolutions," in Zagorid (ed) Public Workers and Public Unions. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972.

14. This hypothesis is phrased in terms of the characteristics of the teaching staff rather than the individual. This is in line with our argument that militancy is best seen as a collective action. All subsequent hypotheses will also refer to the organization rather than individual teachers. See the section on "Militancy as Inter-Group Behavior."

15. R. Schutt, op. cit.

16. W. Kircher. "Yardstick for More Effective Organizing," The American Federationist, 1969, 21-23.

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21. J. Alutto and J. Belasco. "A Typology for Participation in Organizational Decision-Making," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1972, 17, 117-125.

22. R. Schutt, op. cit.

23. S. Bacharach and E. Lawler. Bargaining: Power, Tactics, and Outcomes. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1981.

24. For example, V. Thompson. Modern Organizations. New York: Random House, 1961; or G. Strauss. "Professionalism and Occupational Analysis," Industrial Relations, 1964, 2, 7-31.

25. See R. Hall. "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," American Sociological Review, 1968, 33, 92-104; and N. Toren. "Bureaucracy and Professionalism: A Reconsideration of Weber's Thesis," Academy of Management Review, 1976, 1, 36-46.

26. For example, P. Blau, W. Heydebrand, and R. Stauffer. "The Structure of Small Bureaucracies," American Sociological Review, 1966, 31, 171-191; and D. Pelz and F. Andrews. Scientists in Organizations. New York: Wiley, 1966.

27. R. Corwin, op. cit.

28. S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell. "Interpersonal Versus Intergroup Behavior: The Social Psychology of Desired Union Involvement," Cornell University working paper, 1982; H. Tajfel. Human Groups and Social Categories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

29. J. Alutto and J. Belasco, "Determinants of Attitudinal Militancy," op. cit.

30. Per pupil figures for assessment and expenditures are as follows:

	Mean	Low/High
Assessment	$19,517	$4,265/$52,761
Expenditures	$ 2,198	$1,678/$4,101

31. Some of the smaller rural districts have only one school and would not be included here. For purposes of analysis, middle schools and junior high schools were classified as secondary schools.

32. For example, R. Schutt, op. cit.

33. S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell. "Organizations and Expectations: Organizational Determinants of Union Membership Demands" in Lipsky (ed) Advances in Industrial and Labor Relations, volume 1. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1982.

34. Ibid.

35. These are adopted from S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, ibid.

36. T. Lodahl and M. Kejner. "The Definition and Measurement of Job Involvement," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1965, 49, 24-33.

37. S. Bacharach and M. Aiken. "Structural and Process Constraints on Influence in Organizations: A Level Specific Analysis," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1976, 21, 623-642.

38. S. Rizzo and R. House. "Role Conflict and Ambiguity in Complex Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1970, 15, 150-163.

39. All of these are drawn from S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, op. cit.

40. For example, S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell, op. cit.; and D. Organ and C. Greene. "The Effects of Formalization on Professional Involvement: A Compensatory Process Approach," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1981, 26, 237-252.

41. S. Bacharach and S. Mitchell. "Interest Group Politics in School Districts: The Case of the Local Teachers Union," in Bacharach (ed), Organizational Behavior in Schools and School Districts. New York: Praeger, 1981.

APPENDICES

TO THE FINAL REPORT

Grant No. NIE-G-78-0080

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APPENDIX ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

PREPARATION - THE CASE STUDIES

This project grew out of the investigators' interest in developing a relatively new approach to organizational analysis in a relatively little studied context: that of elementary and secondary education. The newness of the venture led the project staff to spend the initial months of the research becoming thoroughly familiar with the educational setting. Project staff conducted extensive case studies in six school districts, observing the conduct of education from the classroom to the board level. This case study experience was valuable to the staff as it designed the instruments for the subsequent survey in detail, and helped to insure that questions were couched in terms relevant to the school and district setting. Participation in the case studies also sensitized the staff to the nuances of the politics of education, and provided the opportunity to observe over time the phenomena that were captured in cross-section by the survey data.

The case study experience also led the staff to see the importance of a careful approach to survey sites: an approach involving both advance preparation (the securing of endorsements from relevant state-level bodies and from regional officers of the teacher organizations) and extensive feedback to the participating districts at the conclusion of the study. Finally, since the survey instruments were administered in the case study districts as well as in the larger sample, the researchers were able to check the conclusions that arose from quantitative analysis against their direct knowledge of conditions in the six districts, which were reasonably representative of the sample.

SAMPLE DESIGN

The sample of school districts for this study was designed to show variability on each key dimension of the study. Sample selection began with discussions with Robert Spillane, Deputy Commissioner for Primary, Secondary and Continuing Education for the New York State Department of Education and his staff. As a result of these discussions, the decision was made to stratify the sample according to geographic location, size, wealth of the district, and expenditures. Dr. John Stiglmeier, Director of the Information Center on Education for the New York State Department of Education, then used his computer facilities to generate three samples of sixty districts.

Once these lists were available, and when the project staff had met with key figures in the state School Boards Association, the state Administrator's Association, the state Parent-Teachers Association, the Public Employee Relations Board, and the New York State United Teachers to explain and gain support for the project, the project staff proceeded to approach representatives of the teacher organization in each of four regions, in the geographic areas surrounding Binghamton-Elmira, Rochester, Syracuse, and Elmsford New York. The approach to union coordinators reflected the importance of securing a high rate of teacher response in the study. We asked each regional coordinator to eliminate from the potential study sites any in the region that he preferred not be included in the investigation. Districts so eliminated were replaced by equivalent districts from the computer files.

Working with the regional coordinator, we then contacted each of the 120 districts that remained on the list, meeting with local presidents to explain the study and whenever possible, distributing copies of the survey instrument. Those unable to attend the meetings were contacted by letter with a follow-up phone call; those willing to participate were then mailed the survey instrument. By the end of this process, 83 districts had signified their willingness to cooperate.

The remaining groups in each district that were to receive surveys were then contacted. Each of the superintendents in the 83 districts was sent a packet containing a cover letter, a letter of explanation, endorsements from the various state-level bodies contacted previously, a superintendent survey, and five administrative assistant surveys. A follow-up phone call served to answer any questions about the project. Through the cooperation of the New York State School Boards Association, which provided names and addresses, each school board member in the 83 districts was also sent a cover letter, endorsement letters, and a questionnaire. Finally, the principal of each school to be surveyed received a cover letter and a survey .

The characteristics of the sample districts were as follows:

> Location: 30 districts from the Binghamton-Elmira region, 14 from the Rochester area, 22 from the Syracuse region, and 17 from the Elmsford region were included.
>
> Size: Average daily attendance K-12 for the districts in the sample was 3,128; districts ranged from a low of 277 to a high of 12,205.

Wealth: The average assessed valuation for sample districts was $65,951,589; the low was $1,904,589 and the high, $379,246,706.

Expenditures: Total general and federal aid expenditures per district averaged $7,443,854; the range was $630,968 to $28,308,727.

THE SURVEY

The development of our final survey instruments proceeded through a number of stages. Initially, we drafted a survey based solely on the content of our original research proposal. This draft was presented to our case study workers with instructions to critique it based on what they had observed during the conduct of their case study research. Independently of this critiquing process, we proceeded to review the literature on decision-making and organizations in search of items or scales that were of potential relevance to our study. Our aim at this stage was to compile a massive number of items across a broad spectrum of areas. We then revised the instrument drafted from the original proposal, taking into account the comments of our case study workers. Together, the compilation of items and the revised proposal questions constituted the first draft of our survey instrument. This draft was divided into five sections (i.e., background information, your job, relations in the school district, school district issues, and about yourself) and was approximately 80 pages long.

At this point, two steps were taken to reduce the length of the survey. First, the survey was distributed to the various contacts we had established as part of our access strategy and comments were invited. Critiques were also solicited from assorted colleagues and extensive discussions were held among our research staff regarding the content of the questionnaire. The second step taken to reduce the length of the instrument was to sort the items into separate surveys for superintendents, principals, teachers, school board members, and administrative assistants. As a result of these two steps, the average length of the survey was reduced to 35 pages and four sections (the section "about yourself" was eliminated).

The next stage in reducing the survey involved discussions with the various agencies we had contacted as part of our access strategy to ascertain what information they regarded as most important given their specific interests. This information, combined with extensive discussions among our research staff, reduced the average questionnaire to approximately 20 pages. It is this format which served as the basis for our pretests.

The purpose of our pretest was to find out if the questions made sense to practitioners, if the wording was appropriate, and to obtain an estimate of the amount of time required to complete a survey. Copies of specific questionnaires were sent to the appropriate agencies in Albany for comment (e.g., superintendent surveys were sent to the School Administrators Association, board surveys to the School Boards Association). We also enlisted the help of several graduate students and personnel at Cornell who had served as teachers, administrators, or school board members to fill out the appropriate questionnaires. Several modifications resulted from each of these procedures, the end product being five separate surveys (i.e., superintendent, principal, school board, teacher, and administrative assistant), each divided into four sections: your job; relations in the school district; school district issues; and background information). Table 1 summarizes the content of each survey. While all of the data will not be reported here, we want to provide a sense both of the breadth and thoroughness of our efforts, and of the scope of our data base. Copies of the surveys are included in a later appendix.

Once the surveys were completed, distribution of the questionnaires was undertaken. As noted earlier, our initial distribution was a part of the final phase of our access strategy. To reiterate, our main concern was with gaining the cooperation of teachers. A series of meetings or other means were used to contact local union presidents to solicit their cooperation. Those willing to cooperate were given surveys to distribute to all of the teachers in the largest high school and largest elementary school in their district. One month later, a follow-up letter was sent to each local president reminding them to distribute the survey and to encourage their members to fill it out. Three months later (after summer vacation), another reminder was sent to the local presidents. In several districts, additional surveys were sent to presidents who requested them. The end result of our efforts was the completion of 2,247 teacher questionnaires out of approximately 2,460, for a response rate of 70%. This is a very high response rate for teachers, which we believe attests to the validity of our access strategy.

As noted in the section on access, after we had gained the cooperation of teachers in the 83 districts which comprise our final survey sample, we then proceeded to contact the superintendents, school board members, and principals of the schools in which teachers were surveyed for teach of the 83 districts. After our initial contacts with each of these groups, follow-up letters were sent two months later either thanking them for their participation if a completed questionnaire had been received, or urging them to complete and return the questionnaire. The result of our efforts is as follows: 46 completed superintendent surveys for a response rate of 55%, 108 completed principal questionnaires out of 150 for a response of 72%; 263 completed school board questionnaires out of a possible 550 for a response rate of 48%; and 71 completed administrative assistant questionnaires (since we do not know how many administrative assistant there are, a response rate cannot be calculated).

ALBANY DATA

Each year, the New York State Department of Education requires every school district to complete the Basic Educational Data System survey. This survey contains information on staff composition, student composition, organizational structure, curriculum, revenues, expenditures, and school output. This data is merged in Albany with census data on the social and economic composition of the district population. Recent checks on the BEDS results to ascertain the validity of the data indicated high validity for this Albany data. With the cooperation of Dr. John Stiglmeier, Director of the Information Center which is responsible for collecting and analyzing this data for the New York State Department of Education, we were able to obtain the BEDS data for all of the 83 districts in our sample.

DATA FILES

In creating computer files for data analysis, the survey results for each district were merged with the appropriate secondary data obtained from the New York State Department of Education. This enables us to test for the effects of organizational structure and environmental characteristics on the perceptual data of our surveys, a relationship suggested by the preliminary model in our original proposal. This merger also allows us to test the relationship between perceptual data and school district output, another relation suggested in our original proposal. This merger allows us to test the relationship between perceptual data and school district output, another relation suggested in our original model.

Two different types of files were created, each of which implies a distinct mode of analysis. The first type of file is a role file in which all of the data for a specific role is placed in one file. Thus we have five types of role files: teacher, principal, school board, superintendent, and administrative assistant. From these files, a series of role profiles can be generated which describe each role on a number of dimensions or examine the relationship between role dimensions and school structure or output. Further, for the teacher, school board, and principal files, these profiles may be undertaken on two different levels of analysis. Analysis of these roles may be performed on the individual level or on an aggregate level. For the teachers, data may be aggregated to either the school or district level. In aggregating the teacher data, we included only those districts in which a 30% response rate or higher was obtained. For the principal and school board, data may be aggregated to the district level. In aggregating the school board data, we included only those districts with a 40% response rate or higher.

The second type of data file is a consensus file in which data from two different roles is combined. Our specific concern, as noted in our original proposal, is with consensus as to authority and influence in decision-making. Four different consensus files were created. These combine the: 1) superintendent and board; 2) superintendent and principal; 3) principal and teacher; and 4) teacher and school board. We believe that these four files provide us with the information necessary to examine the dynamics of consensus in school district governance and administration.

TABLE 1: VARIABLES CONTAINED IN ROLE QUESTIONNAIRES

Section	Common	Superintendent	Principal	Administrative Department Heads	Teachers	School Board
The job or position	Work process: autonomy, routinization, rule observance Role ambiquity and conflict Satisfaction.	Formalization and differentiation Prior work history Job future Rewards from job Relationship with board Performance evaluation Representative type Job involvement Stress Demands made by subgroups	Formalization and differentiation Supervisory responsibilities Supervisor Prior work history Perceptions of Recruitment Perceptions of promotion Job future Rewards from the job Perceptions of supervisor's behavior Job involvement Demands made by subgroups Stress	Position Supervisory responsibilities Supervisor Prior work history Perceptions of recruitment Perceptions of promotion Job future Rewards from the job Perceptions of supervisor's behavior Job involvement Stress	Position Supervisory responsibilities Supervisor Prior work history Perceptions of recruitment Perceptions of promotion Job future Rewards from the job Perceptions of supervisor's behavior Job involvement Classroom experiences Stress	Time in district Length of time on board Number of times run Number of times' elected Reasons for running Plans to run again Representative type Time required by role Prior knowledge of role demands Usefulness of various subgroups as socializing agents Perceptions of board performance Demands made by subgroups

TABLE 1: (Continued)

Section	Common	Superintendent	Principal	Administrative Department Heads	Teachers	School Board
Relations in the school district	Educational goals Committees Interactions Perceptions of the role of the local teachers' union Perceptions of the relationship between the local teachers' union and the administration	Perceptions of the community environment	Perceptions of the community environment	Perceptions of the community environment	Union involvement Perceptions of importance of union related issues	Perceptions of the community environment
School District Issues (For a variety of different issues, the respondent is asked:)	Who has authority Who has influence Who should have influence How often they were involved in those issues during the last year Level of agreement experienced	At what level (class, school, district, state, federal) they are best handled How often they came up for heated discussion in the last year How long it takes to reach a decision	At what level they are best handled	At what level they are best handled		At what level they are best handled How often they came up for heated discussion in the last year How long it takes to reach a decision

TABLE 1: (Continued)

Section	Common	Superintendent	Principal	Administrative Department Heads	Teachers	School Board
Background information	Age Sex	Social affiliations Professional affiliations	Social affiliations Professional affiliations	Education Social affiliations Professional affiliations	Professional affiliations	Education Occupation Children in school district Social affiliations

APPENDIX TWO

CASE STUDY INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Superintendent

	Coding
1. How long have you lived in the district? (if long term resident, continue)	
What schools did you attend	Private (non-religious) Neighborhood Parochial
2. Where are you employed and what is your exact title?	
3. Do you have any children now attending school? Probe: How many? What schools?	

Coding

4. How long have you been employed in the district?

-- in what capacities?

-- employed in other districts previously?

5. Why did you initially apply for the post of superintendent?

6. When you were first appointed, what group or groups did you see yourself representing?

Probe to determine if group is

Check appropriate areas:

— issue based? __________

-- geographical? __________

-- ideological? __________

-- interest group? __________

7. What group or groups do you see yourself representing now?

same ________

(If different) Probe: try to determine the nature/basis of any shift.

Coding

8. What do you view as the major role or roles played by the board in making decisions regarding policy issues?

(e.g., policy making, interpretation, and/or implementation)

Probe 1: Is the board viewed as an innovator or guardian of the status quo?

Probe 2: Act as final arbiter of administration proposals.

Probe 3: Oversee the administration.

Probe 4: Solicit public support for administration.

Probe 5: Is the board involved in all decisions or just the major ones?

Probe 6: Does the board represent community, administration, or does it act independently?

(N.B.: define policy issues for the respondent
(e.g., curriculum, budget, reorganization,
personnel, construction).

9. Is the board generally in agreement as to the major role or roles it should play in making decisions regarding policy issues or are there a number of different viewpoints regarding the major role or roles it should play?

10. Does this degree of agreement (or disagreement) vary by issue?

(If YES)

Probe 1: What are the bases of variation? (e.g., substantive, key vs. routine,relevance to public)

Probe 2: Do certain issues compel the board to:

-- seize the policy initiative?

-- act as final arbiter of administration proposals?

-- adopt an investigative role?

-- solicit public support for administration?)

11. What role (or roles) do you play in the decision-making process regarding policy issues?

Probe: — does the superintendent just implement board decisions?

— does the superintendent propose and administer subject to board approval or veto?

— does the superintendent propose an array of alternatives for board selection which he then implements ?

12. Does your role or roles vary depending on the issue?

13a. Do you think the board and yourself are usually in agreement regarding the roles you both play?

Probe: are there differences between roles actually played and those which should be played?

13b. Does this vary by issue?

14. Just how much discretion/freedom of action do you (and/or the administration as a whole) have without review by the board?

15a. How is this freedom of action insured or protected?

Probe: by personal, legal, institutional, traditional, political means?

15b. Are there any persons who are particularly effective in securing or maintaing this type of discretion?

Probe: How is this accomplished?

15c. Who are the five most influential administrators in the school district and why?

Transition: So far we have discussed the roles that board, superintendent, and administration play in making decisions regarding policy issues. Next we would like to discuss the mechanisms used by the board, the superintendent and the administration to perform their roles. Examples of such mechanisms include newsletters, public hearings, informal meetings with various groups, the use of consultants, the appointment of committees, the use of special meetings, the use of opinion polls.

16. Do board members generally agree or disagree on the "appropriate way" to carry out the board's role (or roles) in making policy decisions?

Probe: to determine whether "appropriate" mechanisms tend to be:

a) purely functional, technical or informational?

b) more overtly political (e.g., solicit approval for proposals, defeat rival proposals, or to justify particular positions)?

17. Does agreement among board members on the "appropriate way" for the board to perform its role (or roles) vary:

check one:

a) according to the substance of the issue ________

b) by the stage of the decision process (definition formulation of opinions, debate, resolution) ________

c) or both ________

18. In performing your role as superintendent in making decisions regarding policy issues:

a) How do you obtain information?

-- on education issues

-- on financial issues

-- on personnel issues

-- on reorganization issues

-- on construction issues

18b. Are all the positions in this district (e.g. board, administration, superintendent, teachers) equal in their access to the information and resources needed for decision making?

If not, probe:

1) what positions have the greatest resources

--on the board

-- in the central administration

-- in the rest of the administration

-- in the teaching staff

2) Describe the resources.

Coding

18c. How do you express and/or publicize your position on an issue?

Probe: -- solely through board meetings

-- through media

-- other (e.g., personal contacts)

18d. How do you determine if there is support for your position?

-- on the board

-- in the administration

-- in the community

19a. In performing their roles as board members in making decisions regarding policy issues, how do they obtain information

-- on education issues

-- on financial issues

-- on personnel issues

-- on reorganization issues

-- on construction issues

19b. How do they express their position on an issue?

Probe: -- solely through board meetings

-- through media

-- other (e.g., personal contacts)

19c. How do they determine if there is support for their position?

—on the board

--in the administration

--in the community

20. Is the board generally in agreement as to the way the superintendent should perform his role(s) in decision-making regarding policy issues or is there a difference of opinion on this?

Probe: Is there agreement on how or how well he performs in the following:

a) use of staff

-- delegation, or use as expert witness

b) communications and public relations

-- media vs. personal contact with specific community groups

c) use of and access to information

d) structuring of agenda

e) management of state and federal programs

-- pursuit of new resources vs. tending to business at home

-- handling state mandates

21. Does the degree of consensus among board members as to the ways that superintendent should perform his role(s) in making decisions on policy issues vary by the issue?

if so, how does it vary?

Probe 1: attempt to determine which issues provoke the most disagreement (e.g., curriculum, budget, reorganization, personnel, discipline, labor negotiations, construction)

Probe 2: attempt to determine the prevailing view on the board regarding the way the superintendent ought to handle specific issues (e.g., should provide leadership in curriculum, interpret negotiations policy.)

22. Is there a consensus among board members as to the ways that administrators should perform their roles in making decisions on policy issues?

Does this degree of consensus vary by: 1) by administrator, 2) by issue; 3) by both

If so, how does it vary?

Probe 1: attempt to determine which issues provoke the most disagreement (e.g., curriculum, budget, reorganization, personnel, discipline, labor negotiations, construction)

Probe 2: attempt to determine the prevailing view on the board regarding the way administrators ought to handle specific issues (e.g., should provide leadership in curriculum, interpret negotiations policy)

23. Are there some members of the board who generally tend to support your position on policy issues more than others?

If yes, then probe:

a) why?

b) degree of support

--formal (e.g., bloc voting) /informal

c) levels of support

-- preliminary (e.g., Issue definition/final e.g., resolution)

d) form of support/opposition (e.g., active challenge vs. pro forma dissent)

23. continued

If no, then probe:

- a) whether this is the result of the board member perceiving his/her responsibilities as civic rather than political
- b) whether the board member perceives himself/herself as a maverick
- c) or purely single issue-oriented

24. Are there some members of the board who tend to oppose your position on policy issues more than others?

If yes, then probe:

- a) who?
- b) degree of support
  - -- formal (e.g., bloc voting)/informal
- c) levels of support
  - -- preliminary (e.g., Issue Definition/final e.g., resolution)
- d) form of support/opposition (e.g., active challenge vs. pro forma dissent)

If no, Probe:

- a) whether this is the result of the board member perceiving hes/her responsibilities as civic rather than political
- b) whether the board member perceives himself/herself as a maverick
- c) or purely single issue-oriented

Directive: If answer is NO, after probe go to #30.

25. Does the membership of a particular group or groups on the board shift depending on the policy issues or does it remain the same across issues?

If yes, then probe:

a) Does the board member make a distinction here between routine policy issues and key policy issues?

b) Try to elaborate the reasons that issue(s) cause shifts.

26. What are the things that hold these groups together?

Probe: Bases	check appropriate ones
friendship	______
ethnicity	______
neighborhood	______
business	______
voluntary association	______
status	______
philosophy (ideology)	______
recreation	______
pure self-interest	______
patronage	______

27a. Is there support within the school system itself and/or the community for a particular group or groups' position?

27b. Where does this support come from?

Probe 1: Determine sources of support (e.g., PTA, administration, union)

Probe 2: Determine level of support (e.g., type: campaign contributions, endorsements)

28. Who are the three most influential board members and why?

29a.. What effect will recent school board elections have on particular groupings on the board?

29b. What impact will recent school board elections have on a particular group(s) effectiveness?

Probe: a) possible realignments (new splits)
b) greater or lesser success in gaining support for positions
c) changes in strategy and tactics
d) changes in issues

Coding

30. What effect will the recent school board election have on district decision-making?

Probe:
a) Weaken or strengthen superintendent or board?

b) change in relationship from cooperative to adversarial?

c) changes in source of initiative (board or superintendent)?

d) shift on board from policy orientation to interest in detail

e) shift in priorities (e.g., educational to financial issues)

31a. Do community groups or individuals attempt to influence:

	yes	no
a. the whole board	____	____
b. a group or groups of board members	____	____
c. a specific board member	____	____
d. the superintendent	____	____
e. other administrators	____	____

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31b. What types of influence do community groups or individuals exert on:

a) the whole board

b) a group or groups of board members

c) a specific board member

d) the superintendent

e) other administrators

Probe:influence attempts-

a) is it negative (threats), (positive) or both?

b) intensity?

c) public or informal?

d) type of sanctions employed (e.g., personal, normative, political, economic)

e) how sanctions are applied (e.g., angry letters to papers, public attack)

32. When conflicts develop between your position on a policy matter and the position of other administrators, how do you resolve it?

33. When conflicts develop between your position on a policy matter and that of the board, how do you resolve them?

34. What is the best way to gain the board's approval for a proposal you support?

Probe:
- a) identify key actors by name and primary group affilitation for support and opposition
- b) resources - economic, social and political
- c) obstacles posed by issues
- d) mechanisms for obtaining both political and technical support
- e) mechanisms for legitimating position
- f) strategy - formal and informal; win support/ignore opposition or win support/undermine opposition
- g) power base - personal, normative, economic, political
- h) sanction - type, thrust (positive-negative), number impact (strong, weak)

35. Does it vary by proposal?

36. What is the best way to defeat a proposal you oppose?

Probe:
- a) identify key actors by name and primary group affiliation for support and opposition
- b) resources - economic, social and political
- c) obstacles posed by issues
- d) mechanisms for obtaining both political and technical support
- e) mechanisms for legitimating position
- f) strategy - formal and inflormal; win support/ignore opposition or win support/undermine opposition
- g) power base - personal, normative, economic, political
- h) sanction - type, thrust (positive-negative), number, impact (strong - weak)

37. Does it vary by proposal?

38. What is the best way for a board member to win approval for a proposal he supports?

Probe:
- a) Identify key actors by name and primary group affiliation for support andopposition
- b) resources - economic, social and political
- c) obstacles posed by issues
- d) mechanisms for legitimating position
- f) strategy - formal and informal; win support/ignore opposition or win support/undermine opposition
- g) power base - personal, normative, economic, political
- h) sanction - type, thrust (positive-negative), number, impact (strong - weak)

39. Does it vary by proposal?

40. What is the best way for a board member to defeat a proposal he opposes?

Probe:
- a) identify key actors by name and primary group affiliation for support and opposition.
- b) resources - economic, social and political
- c) obstacles posed by issues
- d) mechanisms for legitimating position
- f) strategy - formal and informal; win support/ignore opposition or win support/undermine opposition
- g) power base - personal, normative, economic, political
- h) sanction - type, thrust (positive-negative), number, impact (strong - weak)

41. Does it vary by proposal?

42a. Who are the ten most influential people in the school district and why?

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42b. Who are the ten most influential people in the community in order of importance and why?

Probe: In terms of getting things done in Elmira, Owego, Auburn, Lansing, Moravia and Watkins Glen (E.g. the new YMCA, the United fund drive, political party nominations, ruban renewal, attracting new business) who are the movers and shakers?

ISSUES

In the next two sections, we are going to discuss policy questions such as (budget, reorganization, library, energy and construction.)

BUDGET

In sitting through all the board and administrative meetings, we've noticed that handling the process can be broken down into two stages: 1) internal budget preparation for presentation to the board and 2) board review and vote and/or public review and vote. We're interested in finding out more about the process of budget development in each of these phases

43. Can you give me a rough idea of the steps involved in preparing the budget?

Probe: a) Is there a standard procedure for developing possible alternatives for resolving this issue?

b) What kinds of information and resources are used for developing possible solutions to this issue? Probe:Who controls/ has greatest access to what resources?

c) Is there a standard procedure for implementing the various options generated?

44. What priorities do you have in mind when you work on budget development?

45. Who holds the same priorities as you?

Or: Does ______________________ have a similar set of priorities? (e.g., superintendent, board, administrative, staff, etc.)

46a. Who holds different priorities from you on this issue? (e.g., board, administration, other groups or individuals?)

46b. What are their priorities?

47. Internal budget preparation for presentation to the board.

a. What role do you play in this phase?

--basis of role

b. What role do ___________ play in this phase?

--board, superintendent, administrative staff, etc.

c. What limitations or constraints do you operate under during this phase? (e.g., deadlines, laws, prior committments, etc.)

d. Who do you contact/work with in fulfilling your role in this phase?

--basis of contact
information
Politicking

Directive: Remember for Owego, Lansing, Moravia and Watkins Glen there are two phases to the budgetary process.

48. Board review and vote and/or public review and vote:

a. What role do you play in this phase?

-basis of role

-what does the performance of this role entail

b. Who do you contact/work with in fulfilling your role in this phase?

basis of contact
information
politicking

c. What limitations or constraints do you operate under during this phase (e.g., deadlines, laws, prior committments, etc.)

d. What role do ______________ play in this phase?

-(e.g., board, superintendent, administrative, staff)

49. In some cases, the budget may be rejected:

a) How do you prepare for that possibility ahead of time?

Other Issues:

50. Why did ________________ come up as an issue?

51a. Could you give us a rough idea of how this issue evolved?

51b. What is the present status of this issue?

52. What are the pros and cons on the issue?

53. What are your priorities on this matter?

54. Who holds the same priorities as you on this issue?
(e.g., board, administration, other groups or individuals?)

55a. Who holds different priorities from you on this issue?
(e.g., board, administration, other groups or individuals?)

55b. What are their priorities?

56a. Who have/do you contact/work with:

1) to raise the issue

2) to resolve the issue

56b. Why?

56c. What did you do:

1) to raise the issue

2) to resolve the issue

Probe: strategy/tactics/mechanism, routine

57. What limitations or constraints were/are you operating under?

1) in raising the issue

2) in resolving the issue

58. What is ______________________'s role in this?
(e.g., superintendent, board, administrative staff)

1) in raising this issue

2) in resolving this issue

59. What did ____________________do to
(e.g., superintendent, board, administrative staff)

1) raise this issue

2) resolve this issue

60. If the issue is unresolved, how do you think this issue will be resolved?

In concluding we would like to ask some general questions.

61. Are there particular values which the a)board, b) superintendent, and c) administration should address when making decisions regarding policy?

62. To what extent do these values actually shape decisions?

63. In terms of policy issues which the board must address, how do the past five years differ from:

    a) the 1960s:

    b) the early 1970s:

64. What will be the critical policy issues in the next five years?

Project On School District Governance And Administration

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

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INSTRUCTIONS

1. Most questions can be answered either by circling a number ① 2 3 4 or by checking a space ✓. If you do not find the exact answer which fits your case, chose the one which comes closest to it. For some questions you fill in the blank _____________.

2. Please answer all questions in order.

3. The value of the study depends on your being honest and straightforward in answering this questionnaire. You will not be identified with your answers.

4. Feel free to write any explanations or comments you may have in the margins or in the space provided at the end of the questionnaire.

5. Ignore all numbers in brackets [2:11]; these numbers are for later use in computer analyses.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Section I: Your Job as a Teacher

1. Regarding your current job, what is your main occupation? My main occupation is ______________________________
(Please print full job title)

2. What is your subject area? ______________________________
(Fill in area)

3. What is the name of the part of the school district in which you work?
____
(Fill in name)

[1:18-19] 4. How many teachers in your school have the same subject area as you? ____________
(Fill in number)

[1:20-23] 5. How many students are there in your school? ______________________________
(Fill in number)

[1:24] 6. Do you supervise anyone? 1 No 2 Yes If yes, how many people report directly to
[1:25-26] you? ______________________________
(Fill in number)

[1:27] 7. Who do you report directly to? ______________________________
(Fill in title)

PLEASE NOTE: IN ANY QUESTION WHERE WE REFER TO YOUR SUPERVISOR, WE ARE ASKING ABOUT THE PERSON YOU REPORT DIRECTLY TO, AS INDICATED ABOVE.

[1:28-29] 8. How long have you worked in this district? ______________________________
(Fill in number of years)

[1:30-31] 9. How long have you been in your present position in this district?
____
(Fill in number of years)

[1:32] 10. What previous positions, if any, have you held in this district?
____
(Fill in job titles)

[1:33-34] 11. What previous positions, if any, have you held in other school districts?
____
(Fill in job titles)

[1:35] 12. Prior to entering this district, how many other full time jobs have you had since leaving college?
0 1 2 3 4 5 over 5

[1:36] 13. Do you presently have any other jobs in addition to your main job? 1 No 2 Yes
[1:37-39] If yes, about how many hours a week do you spend in your other job?
____
(Fill in hours) (Fill in job title)

[1:40] 14. Have you attended school or taken any courses since entering your current position?
1 No 2 Yes If yes, toward what degree are you working?
[1:41] 1 None 2 Masters 3 Doctorate 4 Certificate

[1:42] 15. How did you learn about your current job? Circle one.

1 Letter campaign	5 Internal job posting
2 Professional magazine	6 College placement
3 Personal contact	7 Other ______________ (Please specify)
4 Newspaper ad	

[1:43] 16. What do you think was the single most important reason you were chosen for your current position?

1 Job experience	6 Credentials
2 Written exams	7 Personal contact
3 Interviews	8 Seniority
4 References	9 Other________________ (Please specify)
5 College placement	

[1:44] 17. To what degree do you think that your recruitment was basically a rational process?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				A great degree

[1:45-46] 18. In how many years do you plan to retire? ____________________
(Fill in number)

[1:47] 19. How certain are you of what your future career picture looks like?

1	2	3	4
Very uncertain	Somewhat uncertain	Somewhat certain	Very certain

[1:48] 20. How likely is it that you will leave this school before you retire?

1	2	3	4
Very likely	Somewhat likely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely

[1:49] 21. How certain are you of the opportunities for promotion and advancement which will exist in the next few years?

1	2	3	4
Very uncertain	Somewhat uncertain	Somewhat certain	Very certain

[1:50] 22. How well are job openings in your district advertised or posted?

1	2	3	4	5
Very well				Very poorly

[1:51] 23. What do you think is the single most important factor in getting a promotion in your school?

1 Job experience	5 Performance evaluation
2 Credentials	6 Seniority
3 Written exams	7 Personal contacts
4 Interviews	8 Other________________ (Please specify)

[1:52] 24. To what degree do you think that promotion in this school is basically a rational process?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				A great deal

[1:53-54] 25. Since accepting your current job, how many times have you tried for a promotion in this district?____________________
(Fill in number)

[1:55-56] 26. Since accepting your current job, how many times have you looked for another job outside of this district?____________________
(Fill in number)

[1:57] 27. How likely is it that you will leave this school in the next three years?

1 Very likely	2 Somewhat likely	3 Somewhat unlikely	4 Very unlikely

[1:58] 28. In your opinion, how easy or difficult would it be for you to find a better job?

1 Very easy	2	3	4	5 Very difficult

[1:59] 29. If you left your current job, how difficult do you feel it would be for your school to find a replacement as competent as you?

1 Very easy	2	3	4	5 Very difficult

[1:60] 30. In your opinion, how valuable are your services or contributions to the school?

1 Not at all valuable	2	3	4	5 Very valuable

31. What do you consider to be the important rewards you get from your current job in this school? Please rate the following in terms of how important they are to you.

		Not at all important				Very important
[1:61]	Fringe benefits	1	2	3	4	5
[1:62]	Work conditions	1	2	3	4	5
[1:63]	Salary	1	2	3	4	5
[1:64]	Hours	1	2	3	4	5
[1:65]	Opportunity for advancement	1	2	3	4	5
[1:66]	Other (Please specify) ________________________	1	2	3	4	5

[1:67] 32. Overall, how valuable to you are the rewards and benefits you receive from the school?

1 Not at all valuable	2	3	4	5 Very valuable

[1:68] 33. In your opinion, how valuable would your supervisor think you consider your overall rewards from the school?

1 Not at all valuable	2	3	4	5 Very valuable

[1:69] 34. How do you think your supervisor would rate your chance of finding a better job?

1 Very good	2	3	4	5 Very poor

[1:70] 35. How do you think your supervisor would rate his chances of replacing you with someone as competent?

1 Very good	2	3	4	5 Very poor

[1:71] 36. In your opinion, how valuable does your supervisor consider your services or contributions to the school?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all valuable				Very valuable

[1:73] 37. How accurate an idea do you think your supervisor has of how good a teacher you are?

1	2	3	4	5
Very accurate				Very inaccurate

38. How often does your immediate supervisor talk to you in the following ways?

		Seldom or never	Occasionally	Frequently	Almost always
[1:74]	a. Shows appreciation for your work, shows confidence in you	1	2	3	4
[1:75]	b. Gives you directions or orders	1	2	3	4
[1:76]	c. Explains things or gives information or suggestions	1	2	3	4
[1:77]	d. Asks for your suggestions or opinions	1	2	3	4
[1:78]	e. Asks you for information, clarification or explanation	1	2	3	4
[1:79]	f. Criticizes you, refuses to help or is unnecessarily formal	1	2	3	4
[1:80]	g. Gives excess, unnecessary information or comments	1	2	3	4

[2:9] 39. How often does your supervisor check your performance on the job?

1	2	3	4	5
Several times a day	Once a day	Several times a week	Once a week	Less often

[2:10] 40. How easy is it for others to observe your performance on the job?

1	2	3	4
Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult

[2:11] 41. How difficult would it be for someone to evaluate your job performance without observing you on the job?

1	2	3	4
Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult

[2:12] 42. In your job, how often is it necessary for you to cooperate with others in order to get your job done?

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Frequently	Very frequently

The following set of questions concern the work you do as a teacher.

			Definitely true	More true than false	More false than true	Definitely false
[2:13]	1.	There is something different to do here everyday.	1	2	3	4
[2:14]	2.	How things are done here is left pretty much up to the person doing the work.	1	2	3	4
[2:15]	3.	In my position I need to learn to do more than one job.	1	2	3	4
[2:16]	4.	For almost every job a teacher does there is something new happening almost everyday.	1	2	3	4

[2:17] 5. Would you say your work here is:

1	2	3	4
Very routine	Routine	Nonroutine	Very nonroutine

			Definitely true	More true than false	More false than true	Definitely false
[2:18]	6.	People here are allowed to do almost as they please.	1	2	3	4
[2:19]	7.	How things are done here is left pretty much up to the person doing the work.	1	2	3	4
[2:20]	8.	A person can make his or her own decisions without consulting anyone else.	1	2	3	4
[2:21]	9.	It is best to document every move you make around here.	1	2	3	4
[2:22]	10.	Most people here make up their own rules.	1	2	3	4
[2:23]	11.	I always stick to the letter of the rules.	1	2	3	4
[2:24]	12.	We have procedures here for every situation.	1	2	3	4
[2:25]	13.	I have to follow strict operating procedures at all times.	1	2	3	4
[2:26]	14.	I always check to see that I am following the rules.	1	2	3	4
[2:27]	15.	My colleagues always follow the rules to the letter.	1	2	3	4
[2:28]	16.	My colleagues worry about following the rules.	1	2	3	4

[2:29]	17.	In case of a crisis, we always refer to written records for accountability.	1	2	3	4
[2:30]	18.	We keep accurate records of every situation.	1	2	3	4
[2:31]	19.	I frequently use the records to check for information on an issue.	1	2	3	4

Please indicate how true the following statements are of your work experience.

			Very true						Very false
[2:32]	1.	I feel certain about how much authority I have.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:33]	2.	I have to do things that should be done differently.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:34]	3.	I often work under incompatable policies and guidelines.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:35]	4.	I know that I have divided my time properly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:36]	5.	I receive an assignment without the manpower to complete it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:37]	6.	I know what my responsibilities are.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:38]	7.	I have to buck a rule or policy to carry out an assignment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:39]	8.	I know exactly what is expected of me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:40]	9.	I often receive incompatable requests from two or more people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:41]	10.	I often receive an assignment without adequate resources and materials to execute it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:42]	11.	I work on many unnecessary things.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:43]	12.	I have to work under vague directions or orders.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:44]	13.	The major satisfaction in my life comes from my job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:45]	14.	The most important things that happen to me involve my work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:46]	15.	I'm really a perfectionist about my work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2:47]	16.	I live, eat, and breath my job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

			Very true						7. Very false
[2:48]	17.	Quite often I feel like staying home from work instead of coming in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[2:49-50] 1. On the average, how many students are in your class?____________________________
(Fill in number)

[2:51] 2. Do you supervise any extracurricular activities?

1 No   2 Yes   If yes, how many?____________________________
[2:52]   (Fill in number)

[2:53] 3. Do you work for the school during the summer break?

1 No   2 Yes

[2:54-55] 4. On the average, how many hours a week do you work on school matters at home?

____
(Fill in number)

5. We are interested in the experiences that you have while teaching. For each statement below, please indicate how true it is for your experience as a teacher in this school.

			Definitely true	More true than false	More false than true	Definitely false
[2:56]	a.	My classes are too large.	1	2	3	4
[2:57]	b.	My students are highly motivated.	1	2	3	4
[2:58]	c.	My students are quite intelligent.	1	2	3	4
[2:59]	.	My students do not have sufficient background knowledge for my classes.	1	2	3	4
[2:60]	e.	There are always one or two students who hold back the rest of the class.	1	2	3	4
[2:61]	f.	No matter what I do, there are always some who seem to learn nothing.	1	2	3	4
[2:62]	g.	Parents see that students do their homework.	1	2	3	4
[2:63]	h.	My students are often abnormally unruly.	1	2	3	4
[2:64]	i.	I have to worry about being physically confronted by my students.	1	2	3	4
[2:65]	j.	There are undue restrictions placed on student's behavior.	1	2	3	4
[2:66]	k.	I do not hesitate to provide individual help to students.	1	2	3	4
[2:67]	l.	My students respect me.	1	2	3	4
[2:68]	m.	I do not hesitate to use disciplinary measures such as detention when I feel it is appropriate.	1	2	3	4

[2:69]	n.	My students feel free to disagree with me.	1	2	3	4
[2:70]	o.	My classroom and the school are objects of vandalism.	1	2	3	4
[2:71]	p.	Students use drugs and alcohol while in school.	1	2	3	4

6. We are interested in how satisfied you are with various aspects of your job. In general, how satisfied are you with:

			Very satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
[2:72]	a.	The authority your superior gives you in carrying out your work.	1	2	3	4
[2:73]	b.	Your present job when you compare to jobs in other schools.	1	2	3	4
[2:74]	c.	The progress you are making toward the goals you set for yourself in your present position.	1	2	3	4
[2:75]	d.	The chance your job gives you to do what you are best at.	1	2	3	4
[2:76]	e.	Your present job when you consider the expectations you had when you took the job.	1	2	3	4
[2:77]	f.	Your present job in light of your career expectations.	1	2	3	4
[2:78]	g.	Your curriculum supervisor.	1	2	3	4
[2:79]	h.	Your administrative supervisor.	1	2	3	4
[2:80]	i.	Your fellow teachers.	1	2	3	4
[3:9]	j.	The recognition your colleagues give you for your work.	1	2	3	4
[3:10]	k.	Your salary.	1	2	3	4
[3:11]	l.	Your students.	1	2	3	4
[3:12]	m.	The parents.	1	2	3	4

7. Have you experienced any of the following during the past month on the job?

			Seldom or never	Occasionally	Frequently	Almost always
[3:13]	a.	Periods of fatigue when you couldn't "get going".	1	2	3	4
[3:14]	b.	Your hands trembled enough to bother you.	1	2	3	4
[3:15]	c.	You were bothered by shortness of breath when you were not working hard or exercising.	1	2	3	4

			Seldom or never	Occasionally	Frequently	Almost always
[3:16]	d.	You were bothered by your heart beating hard when you were not working or exercising.	1	2	3	4
[3:17]	e.	You had spells of dizziness.	1	2	3	4
[3:18]	f.	You were bothered by having an upset stomach or stomach ache.	1	2	3	4
[3:19]	g.	Periods of restlessness in which you cannot sit still very long.	1	2	3	4
[3:20]	h.	You were bothered by "cold sweats" or damp, clammy hands.	1	2	3	4
[3:21]	i.	You were troubled by headaches.	1	2	3	4
[2:22]	j.	You were in ill health which affected your work.	1	2	3	4
[2:23]	k.	Periods in which things don't seem to work out or in which you wonder if anything is worthwhile.	1	2	3	4
[2:24]	l.	You were bothered by confused thoughts or difficulty in concentrating.	1	2	3	4
[2:25]	m.	Periods of forgetfulness or loss of memory.	1	2	3	4
[2:26]	n.	You were bothered by a sense of anxiety or nervousness.	1	2	3	4

7. In addition, have you experienced any of the following in the past month?

			Seldom or never	Occasionally	Frequently	Almost always
[3:27]	a.	You had a loss of appetite.	1	2	3	4
[3:28]	b.	You had trouble in getting to sleep or staying asleep.	1	2	3	4
[3:29]	c.	You felt unable to rely on or talk to anyone, even friends.	1	2	3	4

Section II: Relations in the School District

The following series of questions ask you about your perception of your school district and the relations between various groups in the district.

[3:30] 1. Do you consider your school district as:

1	2	3
Rural	Suburban	Urban

2. In your judgement, how much emphasis should be placed on each of the following as something for children to experience in the school program?

			No emphasis at all				A great deal of emphasis
[3:31]	a.	Sense of enterprise and competition.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:32]	b.	Control of impulsiveness.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:33]	c.	Understanding citizenship responsibilities and privileges.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:34]	d.	Learning of dangers to the nation.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:35]	e.	Learning respect for property and law.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:36]	f.	Emotional counseling.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:37]	g.	Fitting into a rightful place in society.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:38]	h.	Development of useful occupational skills.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:39]	i.	Moral guidance and direction.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:40]	j.	Involvement in social issues.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:41]	k.	Focus on the 3 R's.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:42]	l.	A sense of playfulness.	1	2	3	4	5
[3:43]	m.	Respect for academic achievement.	1	2	3	4	5

[3:44] 3. Sometimes there exists in schools committees or work groups which meet from time to time in order to discuss various problems which arise in achieving the goals of the school. Are you a member of one or more such committees or groups which includes only members of your school?

1	2
No	Yes

[3:45] [3:46]

3a. If yes, what are the names of these committees or groups? (Fill in titles)	3b. How many times a year does each of these groups meet? (Fill in number)
______________________________	____________
______________________________	____________
______________________________	____________
______________________________	____________

[3:47] 4. Are you a member of any committees or work groups which includes persons from the entire district?

1	2
No	Yes

[3:48] [3:49]

4a. If yes, what are the names of these committees or groups? (Fill in titles)	4b. How many times a year does each of these groups meet? (Fill in number)
______________________________	____________
______________________________	____________
______________________________	____________
______________________________	____________

5. Outside of regular meetings, in fulfilling one's task it is sometimes necessary to consult on a rather regular basis with various groups or persons either directly (by telephone or face-to-face contact) or indirectly (by written communication or through a third party). In the table below, please indicate the number of contacts you have with each of the people or groups either directly or indirectly in a typical month. (Check the last column if you never contact these people or groups).

		Directly	Indirectly	Never contact
[3:50-54]	a. Superintendent	____	____	____
[3:55-59]	b. Administrative assistants	____	____	____
[3:60-64]	c. Principal	____	____	____
[3:65-69]	d. School board	____	____	____
[3:70-74]	e. Department head	____	____	____
[3:75-79]	f. Teachers	____	____	____
[4:9-13]	g. PTA	____	____	____
[4:14-18]	h. Parents	____	____	____
[4:19-23]	i. Students	____	____	____
[4:24-28]	j. Support staff	____	____	____
[4:29-33]	k. Personnel in other schools	____	____	____
[4:34-38]	l. Personnel in other districts	____	____	____
[4:39-43]	m. Community groups	____	____	____
[4:44-48]	n. Government officials	____	____	____
[4:49-53]	o. Media members	____	____	____
[4:54-58]	p. Union officials	____	____	____

The following series of questions concerns your perceptions of the activities of your local teachers' union, and union-management relations.

[4:59] 1. In the last two years, have you voted in a local teachers'union election?

1 No   2 Yes

[4:60] 2. In the last two years, have you been elected to, nominated, or chosen for an office in a local teachers' union?

1 No   2 Yes

[4:61] 3. In the last two years, have you gone to a local teachers' union meeting?

1 No   2 Yes

[4:62] 4. In the last two years, have you filed a grievance through your local teachers' union?

1 No   2 Yes

5. Do you think your local teachers' union should be more or less involved in each of the following areas:

		Less		All right as it is		More
[4:63]	a. Getting better salaries	1	2	3	4	5
[4:64]	b. Health and dental insurance	1	2	3	4	5
[4:65]	c. Compensation for additional duties	1	2	3	4	5

			Less		All right as it is		More
[4:66]	d.	Class size impact	1	2	3	4	5
[4:67]	e.	Preparation time	1	2	3	4	5
[4:68]	f.	Required non-teaching duties	1	2	3	4	5
[4:69]	g.	Leaves	1	2	3	4	5
[4:70]	h.	Tuition reimbursements	1	2	3	4	5
[4:71]	i.	Evaluation procedures	1	2	3	4	5
[4:72]	j.	Student discipline, student rights	1	2	3	4	5
[4:73]	k.	Getting teachers a say in how they do their job	1	2	3	4	5
[4:74]	l.	Giving members a say in how the union is run	1	2	3	4	5
[4:75]	m.	Getting members a say in how the administration runs the district	1	2	3	4	5
[4:76]	n.	Telling members what the union is doing	1	2	3	4	5
[4:77]	o.	Handling members' grievances	1	2	3	4	5

6. The issues which unions deal with vary in their importance for members. Generally, the more important the issue, the more likely the members are to approve of using severe means to influence the outcome. For each issue below, please indicate the most severe means you would be willing to approve of to influence the administration.

			Strike	Some type of job action	Continue work with formal negotiations	Continue work with informal negotiations	Give in
[4:78]	a.	Getting better salaries	1	2	3	4	5
[4:79]	b.	Health and dental insurance	1	2	3	4	5
[4:80]	c.	Compensation for additional duties	1	2	3	4	5
[5:9]	d.	Class size impact	1	2	3	4	5
[5:10]	e.	Preparation time	1	2	3	4	5
[5:11]	f.	Required non-teaching duties	1	2	3	4	5
[5:12]	g.	Leaves	1	2	3	4	5
[5:13]	h.	Tuition reimbursements	1	2	3	4	5
[5:14]	i.	Evaluation procedures	1	2	3	4	5
[5:15]	j.	Student discipline, student rights	1	2	3	4	5
[5:16]	k.	Getting teachers a say in how they do their job	1	2	3	4	5
[5:17]	l.	Getting members a say in how the administration runs the district	1	2	3	4	5
[5:18]	m.	Handling members' grievances	1	2	3	4	5

[5:19] 7. All in all, how satisfied are you with your local teachers' union?

1	2	3	4
Very satisfied	Moderately satisfied	Moderately dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

[5:20] 8. In general, how do you personally feel about your school's relations with the local teachers' union?

1	2	3	4
Very satisfied	Moderately satisfied	Moderately dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

[5:21] 9. Does the local teachers' union have the support of the teachers?

1	2	3	4
Most of the teachers are strongly behind it	Only a few really active people but most teachers go along	Not too much feeling either way	A lot of the teachers are hostile

[5:22] 10. What is the administration's attitude toward the local teachers' union?

1	2	3	4
Strongly favorable	Moderately favorable	Moderately unfavorable	Strongly unfavorable

[5:23] 11. What is the local teachers' union attitude toward the administration?

1	2	3	4
Strongly favorable	Moderately favorable	Moderately unfavorable	Strongly unfavorable

[5:24] 12. In your opinion, who has more power in your school district, the local teachers' union or the administration?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Administration has all the power			Equal power			Local union has all the power

[5:25] 13. What is your primary source of information on matters relating to union-school administration relations?

1	2	3	3
Local union	Administration	Fellow teachers	Other

Section III: School District Issues

The following series of questions deal with how specific issues are handled in your school district.

1. Authority

When decisions are made on a specific topic, there is someone who has authority in that area, that is, someone who when all else is said and done, has the final say. Below is a table which consists of a set of decision areas which have been identified as important in school districts, and a list of groups or persons involved in the running of the school system. For each decision area, you are asked to circle the number of the column which corresponds to the person or group which you consider to have authority over that area, i.e., the person who you see as having the final say.

PLEASE NOTE: CIRCLE ONLY ONE NUMBER PER ISSUE.

For example, if the decision area GRADING was presented, and you think that TEACHERS have the final say in grading, you would circle the number 6 under the column for TEACHERS.

			Superintendent	Administrative Assistants	Principal	School Board	Department Heads	Teachers	PTA	Parents	Students	Support Staff
[5:26-27]	a.	Transportation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:28-29]	b.	Student scheduling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:30-31]	c.	Facilities planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:32-33]	d.	Integration/ segregation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:34-35]	e.	Budget development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:36-37]	f.	Expenditure priorities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:38-39]	g.	Cash flow/borrowing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:40-41]	h.	Negotiations with professional staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:42-43]	i.	Negotiations with non-instructional staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:44-45]	j.	Contract implementation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:46-47]	k.	Employee strikes/ grievances	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:48-49]	l.	Staff hiring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:50-51]	m.	Personnel evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:52-53]	n.	Student discipline	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:54-55]	o.	Standardized testing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:56-57]	p.	Grading	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:58-59]	q.	Student rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:60-61]	r.	Program analysis/ evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:62-63]	s.	What to teach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:64-65]	t.	How to teach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:66-67]	u.	What books to use	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:68-69]	v.	Special programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[5:70-71]	w.	Community relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2. Influence

While one person may have final say over a specific decision, he may be influenced by a number of other people or groups in reaching that decision. The following table contains the same set of decision areas and list of school district groups as before. For each decision area, you are to circle the three groups or persons you consider to have the most influence on decisions in that area, regardless of who has the final say.

			Superintendent	Administrative Assistants	Principal	School Board	Department Heads	Teachers	PTA	Parents	Students	Support Staff
[5:72-77]	a.	Transportation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:9-14]	b.	Student scheduling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:15-20]	c.	Facilities planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:21-26]	d.	Integration/ segregation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:27-32]	e.	Budget development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:33-38]	f.	Expenditure priorities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:39-44]	g.	Cash flow/borrowing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:45-50]	h.	Negotiations with professional staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:51-56]	i.	Negotiations with non-instructional staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:57-62]	j.	Contract implementation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:63-68]	k.	Employee strikes/ grievances	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:69-74]	l.	Staff hiring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[6:75-80]	m.	Personnel evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:9-14]	n.	Student discipline	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:15-20]	o.	Standardized testing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:21-26]	p.	Grading	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:27-32]	q.	Student rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:33-38]	r.	Program analysis/ evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:39-44]	s.	What to teach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:45-50]	t.	How to teach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:51-56]	u.	What books to use	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:57-62]	v.	Special programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:63-68]	w.	Community relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3. The way things are is not always the way we would like them to be. In the table below, for each decision area you are asked to circle the three groups or persons you think should have an influence on decisions in that area, regardless of who has the final say.

			Superintendent	Administrative Assistants	Principal	School Board	Department Heads	Teachers	PTA	Parents	Students	Support Staff
[7:69-74]	a.	Transportation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[7:75-80]	b.	Student scheduling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:9-14]	c.	Facilities planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:15-20]	d.	Integration/ segregation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:21-26]	e.	Budget development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:27-32]	f.	Expenditure priorities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:33-38]	g.	Cash flow/borrowing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:39-44]	h.	Negotiations with professional staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:45-50]	i.	Negotiations with non-instructional staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:51-56]	j.	Contract implementation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:57-62]	k.	Employee strikes/ grievances	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:63-68]	l.	Staff hiring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:69-74]	m.	Personnel evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[8:75-80]	n.	Student discipline	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[9:9-14]	o.	Standardized testing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[9:15-20]	p.	Grading	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[9:21-26]	q.	Student rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[9:27-32]	r.	Program analysis/ evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[9:33-38]	s.	What to teach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[9:39-44]	t.	How to teach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[9:45-50]	u.	What books to use	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[9:51-56]	v.	Special programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[9:57-62]	w.	Community relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4. For various reasons, most people do not get actively involved in every decision made in their school district. In order to get some idea of what issues you consider important, please rate each of the following areas in terms of how often you got involved in decisions in that area in the last year.

		Seldom or never	Occasion-nally	Fre-quently	Always or almost always
[9:63]	a. Transportation	1	2	3	4
[9:64]	b. Student scheduling	1	2	3	4
[9:65]	c. Facilities planning	1	2	3	4
[9:66]	d. Integration/segregation	1	2	3	4
[9:67]	e. Budget development	1	2	3	4
[9:68]	f. Expenditure priorities	1	2	3	4
[9:69]	g. Cash flow/borrowing	1	2	3	4
[9:70]	h. Negotiations with professional staff	1	2	3	4
[9:71]	i. Negotiations with non-instructional staff	1	2	3	4
[9:72]	j. Contract implementation	1	2	3	4
[9:73]	k. Employee strikes/ grievances	1	2	3	4
[9:74]	l. Staff hiring	1	2	3	4
[9:75]	m. Personal evaluation	1	2	3	4
[9:76]	n. Student discipline	1	2	3	4
[9:77]	o. Standardized testing	1	2	3	4
[9:78]	p. Grading	1	2	3	4
[9:79]	q. Student rights	1	2	3	4
[9:80]	r. Program analysis/ evaluation	1	2	3	4
[10:9]	s. What to teach	1	2	3	4
[10:10]	t. How to teach	1	2	3	4
[10:11]	u. What books to use	1	2	3	4
[10:12]	v. Special programs	1	2	3	4
[10:13]	w. Community relations	1	2	3	4

5. The level of agreement felt with a specific group may vary with issues. The following table contains a set of issues and a list of groups involved in the school district. For each issue, you are to circle the number for those groups or persons that you feel you are likely to agree with on that issue.

PLEASE NOTE: For each issue, you may circle as many or as few as you like.

			Superintendent	Administrative Assistants	Principal	School Board	Department Heads	Teachers	PTA	Parents	Students	Support Staff
[10:14-33]	a.	Transportation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[10:34-53]	b.	Student scheduling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[10:54-73]	c.	Facilities planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[11:9-28]	d.	Integration/ segregation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[11:29-48]	e.	Budget development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[11:49-68]	f.	Expenditure priorities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[12:9-28]	g.	Cash flow/borrowing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[12:29-48]	h.	Negotiations with professional staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[12:49-68]	i.	Negotiations with non-instructional staff	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[13:9-28]	j.	Contract implementation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[13:29-48]	k.	Employee strikes/ grievances	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[13:49-68]	l.	Staff hiring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[14:9-28]	m.	Personnel evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[14:29-48]	n.	Student discipline	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[14:49-68]	o.	Standardized testing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[15:9-28]	p.	Grading	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[15:29-48]	q.	Student rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[15:49-68]	r.	Program analysis/ evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[16:9-28]	s.	What to teach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[16:29-48]	t.	How to teach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[16:49-68]	u.	What books to use	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[17:9-28]	v.	Special programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
[17:29-48]	w.	Community relations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Section IV: Background Information

[17:49] 1. How old are you:

1 Between 20-24.
2 Between 25-29.
3 Between 30-34.
4 Between 35-39.
5 Between 40-44.
6 Between 45-49.
7 Between 50-54.
8 Between 55-59.
9 60 or older.

[17:50] 2. Sex:

1 Female
2 Male

[17:51] 3. If you were to get a Ph.D. degree, would you prefer to get it in:

1 Education
2 Administration
3 Education with a minor in your specialty
4 Your specialty

[17:52] 4. Are you a member of any professional associations (not counting unions)?

1 No
2 Yes

[17:53] If yes, which ones. ______________________________ (Fill in association names)

[17:54] 5. Have you or do you now hold any offices in professional associations (not counting unions)?

1 No
2 Yes

[17:55] If yes, what offices? ______________________________ (Fill in office titles)

[17:56] 6. In the last year, how many professional meetings have you attended (not counting union meetings)?

0
1
2
3
4
5
over 5

[17:57] 7. Do you subscribe to any professional magazines?

1 No
2 Yes

[17:58] If yes, which ones? ______________________________ (Fill in magazine titles)

We would appreciate any comments you might have. Thank you.